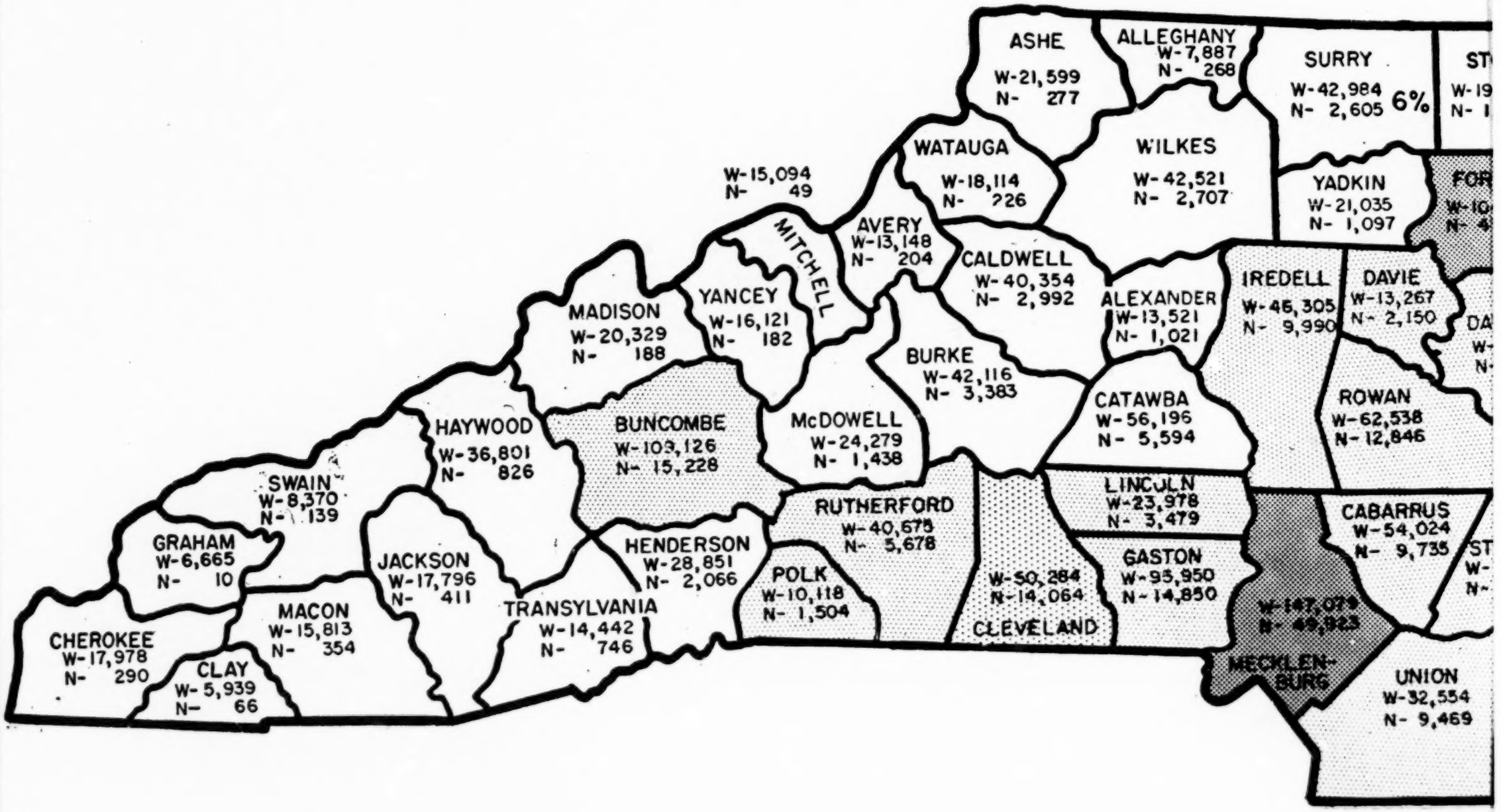
WHITE AND NEGRO F



W- WHITE
N- NEGRO

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO POPULATION

- 0%-10%
- 10%-25%
- 25%-50%
- OVER 50%

EXHIBIT 1

0 POPULATION BY COUNTIES IN 1950

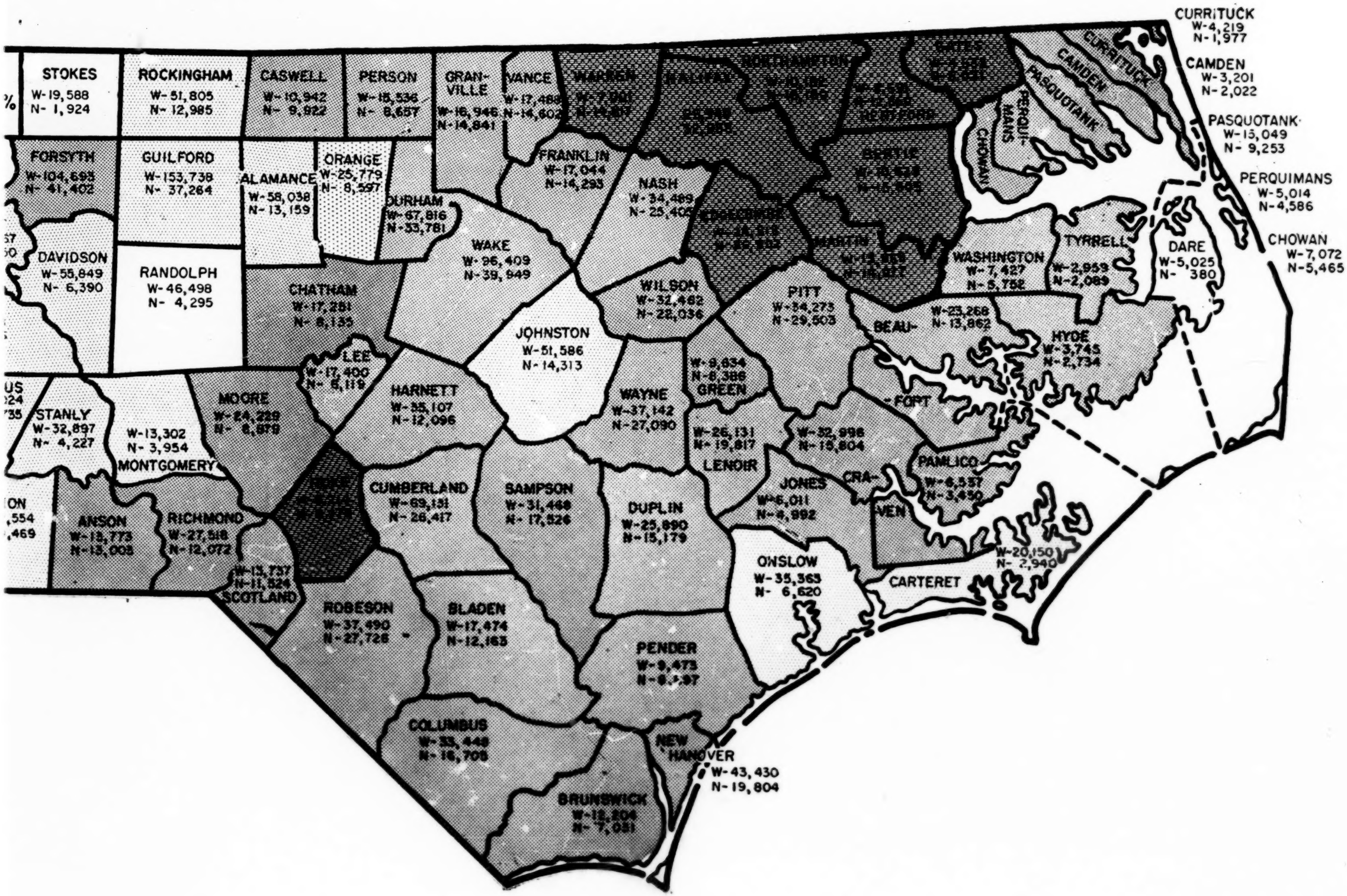


EXHIBIT 2

TABLE I

North Carolina Population By Counties And Races, 1950

County	Total Population	White Population	Negro Population	% White	% Negro
Alamance	71,220	58,038	13,159	81.49	18.48
Alexander	14,554	13,521	1,021	92.90	7.02
Alleghany	8,155	7,887	268	96.71	3.29
Anson	26,781	13,773	13,003	51.43	48.55
Ashe	21,878	21,599	277	98.72	1.27
Avery	13,352	13,148	204	98.47	1.53
Beaufort	37,134	23,268	13,862	62.66	37.33
Bertie	26,439	10,628	15,809	40.20	59.79
Bladen	29,703	17,474	12,163	58.83	40.95
Brunswick	19,238	12,204	7,031	63.44	36.55
Buncombe	124,403	109,126	15,228	87.72	12.24
Burke	45,518	42,116	3,383	92.53	7.43
Cabarrus	63,783	54,024	9,735	84.70	15.26
Caldwell	43,352	40,354	2,992	93.08	6.90
Camden	5,223	3,201	2,022	61.29	38.71
Carteret	23,059	20,150	2,904	87.38	12.59
Caswell	20,870	10,942	9,922	52.43	47.54
Catawba	61,794	56,196	5,594	90.94	9.05
Chatham	25,392	17,251	8,135	67.94	32.04
Cherokee	18,294	17,978	290	98.27	1.59
Chowan	12,540	7,072	5,465	56.40	43.58
Clay	6,006	5,939	66	98.88	1.10
Cleveland	64,357	50,284	14,063	78.13	21.85
Columbus	50,621	33,448	16,705	66.08	33.00
Craven	48,823	32,996	15,804	67.58	32.37
Cumberland	96,006	69,131	26,417	72.01	27.52
Currituck	6,201	4,219	1,977	68.04	31.88
Dare	5,405	5,025	380	92.97	7.03
Davidson	62,244	55,849	6,390	89.73	10.27
Davie	15,420	13,267	2,150	86.04	13.94
Duplin	41,074	25,890	15,179	63.03	36.96
Durham	101,639	67,816	33,781	66.72	33.24
Edgecombe	51,634	24,818	26,802	48.07	51.91
Forsyth	146,135	104,693	41,402	71.64	28.33

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

County	Total Population	White Population	Negro Population	% White	% Negro
Franklin	31,341	17,044	14,293	54.38	45.60
Gaston	110,836	95,950	14,850	86.57	13.40
Gates	9,555	4,532	5,021	47.43	52.55
Graham	6,886	6,665	10	96.79	0.15
Granville	31,793	16,946	14,841	53.30	46.68
Greene	18,024	9,634	8,386	53.45	46.53
Guilford	191,057	153,738	37,264	80.47	19.50
Halifax	58,377	25,349	32,988	43.42	56.51
Harnett	47,605	35,107	12,096	73.75	25.41
Haywood	37,631	36,801	826	97.79	2.19
Henderson	30,921	28,851	2,066	93.31	6.68
Hertford	21,453	8,591	12,860	40.05	59.94
Hoke	15,756	6,214	8,778	39.44	55.71
Hyde	6,479	3,745	2,734	57.80	42.20
Iredell	56,303	46,305	9,990	82.24	17.74
Jackson	19,261	17,796	411	92.39	2.13
Johnston	65,906	51,586	14,313	78.27	21.72
Jones	11,004	6,011	4,992	54.63	45.37
Lee	23,522	17,400	6,119	73.97	26.01
Lenoir	45,953	26,131	19,817	56.86	43.12
Lincoln	27,459	23,978	3,479	87.32	12.67
McDowell	25,720	24,279	1,438	94.40	5.59
Macon	16,174	15,813	354	97.77	2.19
Madison	20,522	20,329	188	99.06	0.92
Martin	27,938	13,858	14,077	49.60	50.39
Mecklenburg	197,052	147,079	49,923	74.64	25.33
Mitchell	15,143	15,094	49	99.68	0.32
Montgomery	17,260	13,302	3,954	77.07	22.91
Moore	33,129	24,229	8,879	73.14	26.80
Nash	59,919	34,489	25,405	57.56	42.40
New Hanover	63,272	43,430	19,804	68.64	31.30
Northampton	28,432	10,182	18,189	35.81	63.97
Onslow	42,047	35,365	6,620	84.11	15.74
Orange	34,435	25,779	8,597	74.86	24.97
Pamlico	9,993	6,537	3,450	65.42	34.52
Pasquotank	24,347	15,049	9,253	61.81	38.00
Pender	18,423	9,473	8,897	51.42	48.29

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

County	Total Population	White Population	Negro Population	% White	% Negro
Perquimans	9,602	5,014	4,586	52.22	47.76
Person	24,361	15,536	8,657	63.77	35.54
Pitt	63,789	34,273	29,503	53.73	46.25
Polk	11,627	10,118	1,504	87.02	12.94
Randolph	50,804	46,498	4,295	91.52	8.45
Richmond	39,597	27,518	12,072	69.50	30.49
Robeson	87,769	37,490	27,726	42.71	31.59
Rockingham	64,816	51,805	12,985	79.93	20.03
Rowan	75,410	62,538	12,846	82.93	17.03
Rutherford	46,356	40,675	5,678	87.74	12.25
Sampson	49,780	31,468	17,526	63.21	35.21
Scotland	26,336	13,737	11,524	52.16	43.76
Stanly	37,130	32,897	4,227	88.60	11.38
Stokes	21,520	19,588	1,924	91.02	8.94
Surry	45,593	42,984	2,605	94.28	5.71
Swain	9,921	8,370	139	84.37	1.40
Transylvania	15,194	14,442	746	95.05	4.91
Tyrrell	5,048	2,959	2,089	58.62	41.38
Union	42,034	32,544	9,469	77.45	22.53
Vance	32,101	17,488	14,602	54.48	45.49
Wake	136,450	96,409	39,949	70.66	29.28
Warren	23,539	7,901	14,817	33.57	62.95
Washington	13,180	7,427	5,752	56.35	43.64
Watauga	18,342	18,114	226	98.76	1.23
Wayne	64,267	37,142	27,090	57.79	42.15
Wilkes	45,243	42,521	2,707	93.98	5.98
Wilson	54,506	32,462	22,036	59.56	40.43
Yadkin	22,133	21,035	1,097	95.04	4.96
Yancey	16,306	16,121	182	98.87	1.12

Source: Population data from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950.

EXHIBIT 3

TABLE II

NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES BY PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO POPULATION, 1950

I. Counties with over 50% Negro population

COUNTY	% WHITE	% NEGRO
Northampton	35.81	63.97
Warren	33.57	62.95
Hertford	40.05	59.94
Bertie	40.20	59.79
Halifax	43.42	56.51
Hoke	39.44	55.71
Gates	47.43	52.55
Edgecombe	48.07	51.91
Martin	49.60	50.39

II. Counties with 25% to 50% Negro population

COUNTY	% WHITE	% NEGRO
Anson	51.43	48.55
Pender	51.42	48.29
Perquimans	52.22	47.76
Caswell	52.43	47.54
Granville	53.30	46.68
Greene	53.45	46.53
Pitt	53.73	46.25
Franklin	54.38	45.60
Vance	54.48	45.49
Jones	54.63	45.37
Scotland	52.16	43.76
Washington	56.35	43.64
Chowan	56.40	43.58
Lenoir	56.86	43.12
Nash	57.56	42.40
Hyde	57.80	42.20
Wayne	57.79	42.15
Tyrrell	58.62	41.38
Bladen	58.83	40.95
Wilson	59.56	40.43
Camden	61.29	38.71
Pasquotank	61.81	38.00

TABLE II (CONTINUED)

COUNTY	% WHITE	% NEGRO
Beaufort	62.66	37.33
Duplin	63.03	36.96
Brunswick	63.44	36.55
Person	63.77	35.54
Sampson	63.21	35.21
Pamlico	65.42	34.52
Durham	66.72	33.24
Columbus	66.08	33.00
Craven	67.58	32.37
Chatham	67.94	32.04
Currituck	68.04	31.88
Robeson	42.71	31.59
New Hanover	68.64	31.30
Richmond	69.50	30.49
Wake	70.66	29.28
Forsyth	71.64	28.33
Cumberland	72.01	27.52
Moore	73.14	26.80
Lee	73.97	26.01
Harnett	73.75	25.41
Mecklenburg	74.64	25.33

III. Counties with 10% to 25% Negro Population

COUNTY	% WHITE	% NEGRO
Orange	74.86	24.97
Montgomery	77.07	22.91
Union	77.45	22.53
Cleveland	78.13	21.85
Johnston	78.27	21.72
Rockingham	79.93	20.03
Guilford	80.47	19.50
Alamance	81.49	18.48
Iredell	82.24	17.74
Rowan	82.93	17.03
Onslow	84.11	15.74
Cabarrus	84.70	15.26
Davie	86.04	13.94
Gaston	86.57	13.40

TABLE II (CONTINUED)

COUNTY	% WHITE	% NEGRO
Polk	87.02	12.94
Lincoln	87.32	12.67
Carteret	87.38	12.59
Rutherford	87.74	12.25
Buncombe	87.72	12.24
Stanly	88.60	11.38
Davidson	89.73	10.27

IV. Counties with less than 10% Negro population

COUNTY	% WHITE	% NEGRO
Catawba	90.94	9.05
Stokes	91.02	8.94
Randolph	91.52	8.45
Burke	92.53	7.43
Dare	92.97	7.03
Alexander	92.90	7.02
Caldwell	93.08	6.90
Henderson	93.31	6.68
Wilkes	93.98	5.98
Surry	94.28	5.71
McDowell	94.40	5.59
Yadkin	95.04	4.96
Transylvania	95.05	4.91
Alleghany	96.71	3.29
Haywood	97.79	2.19
Macon	97.77	2.19
Jackson	92.39	2.13
Cherokee	98.27	1.59
Avery	98.47	1.53
Swain	84.37	1.40
Ashe	98.72	1.27
Watauga	98.76	1.23
Yancey	98.87	1.12
Clay	98.88	1.10
Madison	99.06	0.92
Mitchell	99.68	0.32
Graham	96.79	0.15

Source: Population data from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950.

EXHIBIT 4

WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION BY STATES IN 1950

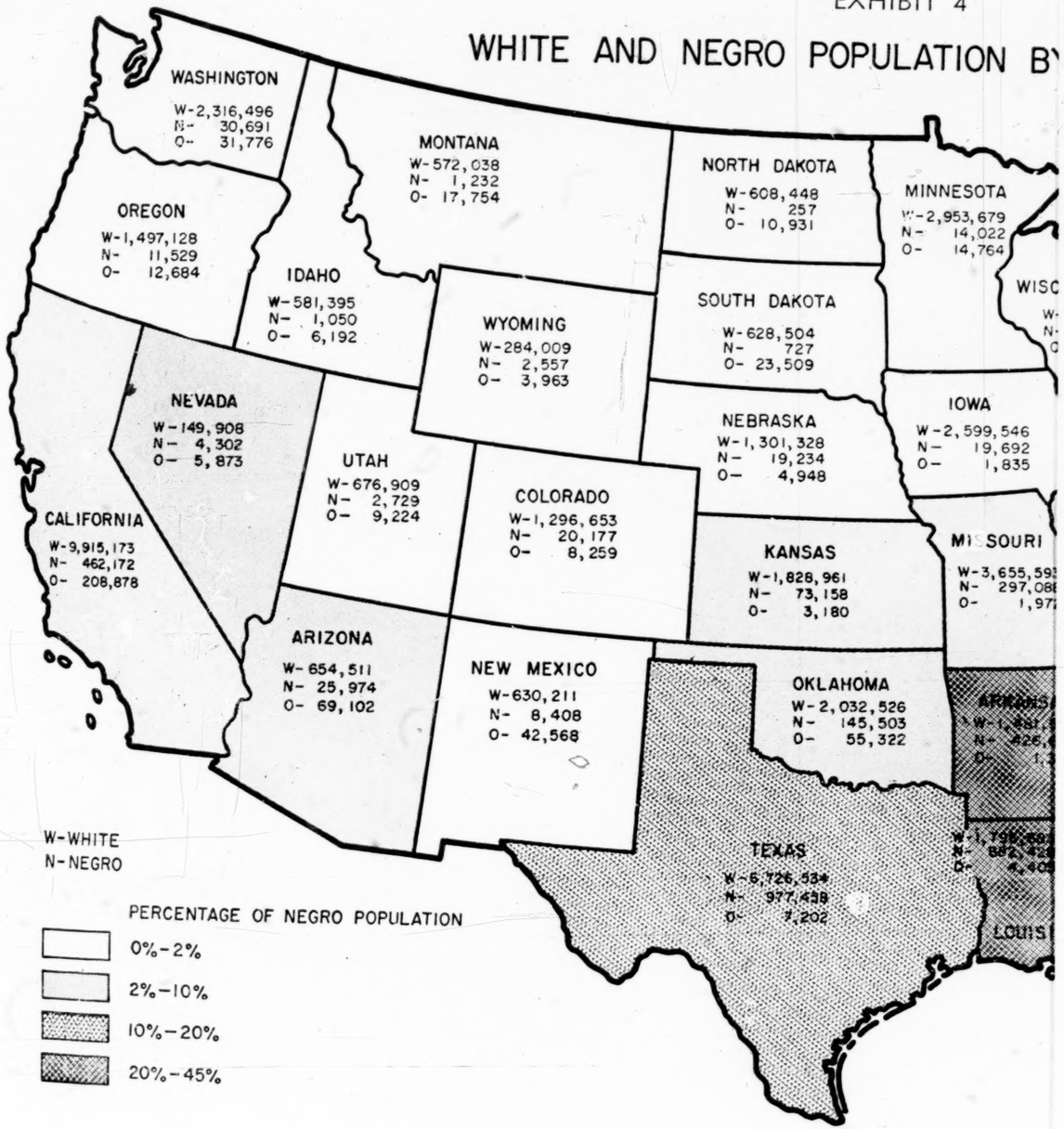


EXHIBIT 4

EGRO POPULATION BY STATES IN 1950

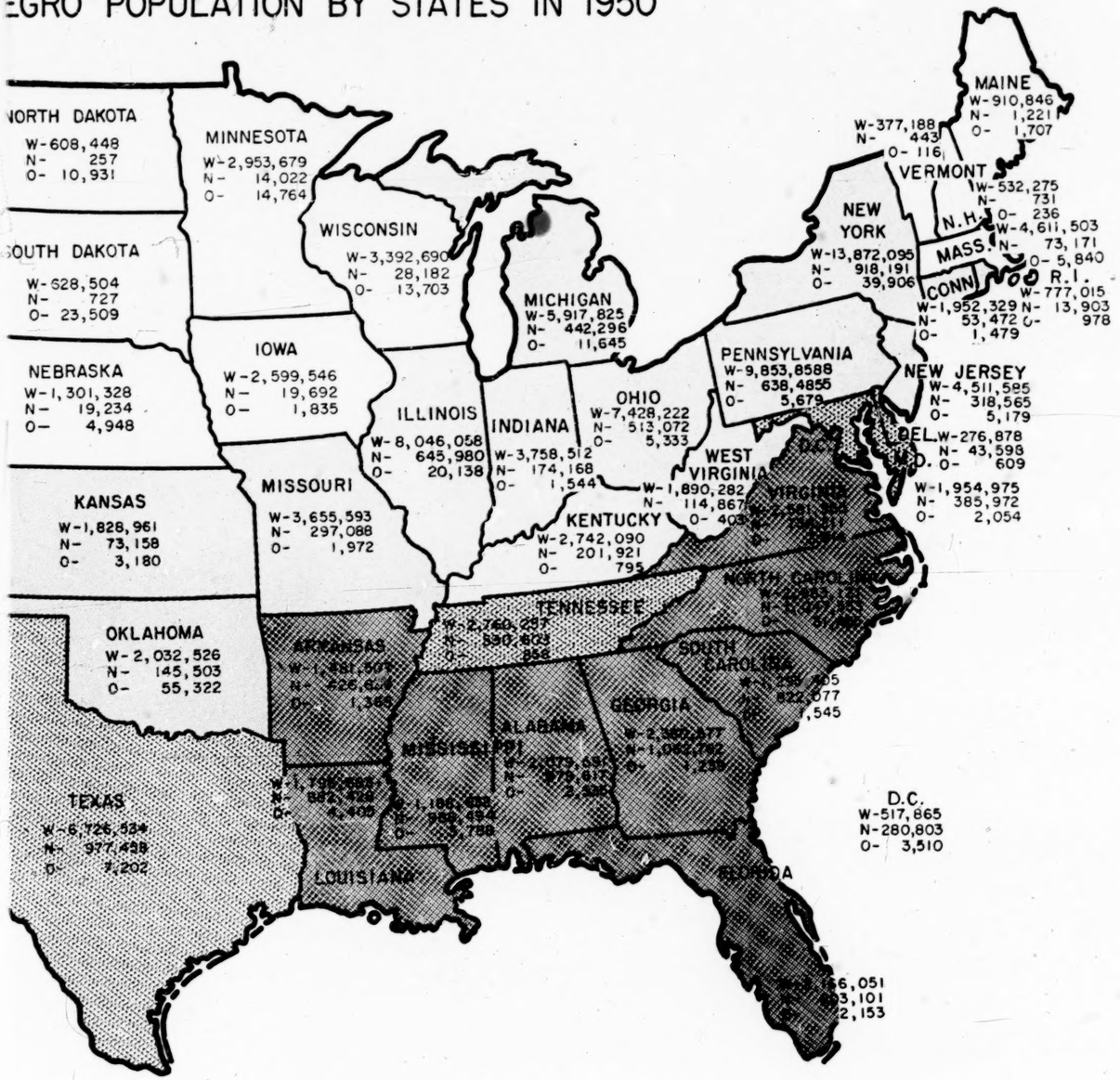


EXHIBIT 5

TABLE III

STATES BY PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO POPULATION, 1950

State	Total Population	% Negro	% White	% Other Races
Mississippi	2,178,914	45.27	54.55	.17
South Carolina	2,117,027	38.83	61.10	.07
District of Columbia	802,178	35.01	64.55	.44
Louisiana	2,683,516	32.88	66.95	.16
Alabama	3,061,743	32.00	67.92	.08
Georgia	3,444,578	30.85	69.11	.04
North Carolina	4,061,929	25.78	73.44	.77
Arkansas	1,909,511	22.34	77.59	.07
Virginia	3,318,680	22.12	77.79	.09
Florida	2,771,305	21.76	78.16	.08
Maryland	2,343,001	16.47	83.44	.09
Tennessee	3,291,718	16.12	83.85	.03
Delaware	318,085	13.71	86.10	.19
Texas	7,711,194	12.68	87.23	.09
Missouri	3,954,653	7.51	92.44	.05
Illinois	8,712,176	7.41	92.35	.23
Michigan	6,371,766	6.94	92.88	.18
Kentucky	2,944,806	6.86	93.12	.02
New Jersey	4,835,329	6.59	93.30	.11
Oklahoma	2,233,351	6.52	91.00	2.48
Ohio	7,946,627	6.45	93.48	.07
New York	14,830,192	6.19	93.54	.27
Pennsylvania	10,498,012	6.08	93.86	.05
West Virginia	2,005,552	5.73	94.25	.02
Indiana	3,934,224	4.43	95.53	.04
California	10,586,223	4.37	93.66	1.97
Kansas	1,905,299	3.84	95.99	.17
Arizona	749,587	3.46	87.32	9.22
Nevada	160,083	2.69	93.64	3.67
Connecticut	2,007,280	2.66	97.26	.07
Rhode Island	791,896	1.76	98.12	.12
Massachusetts	4,690,514	1.56	98.32	.12
Colorado	1,325,089	1.52	97.85	.62
Nebraska	1,325,510	1.45	98.18	.37

TABLE III (CONTINUED)

State	Total Population	% Negro	% White	% Other Races
Washington	2,378,963	1.29	97.37	1.34
New Mexico	681,178	1.23	92.52	6.25
Wyoming	290,529	0.88	97.76	1.36
Wisconsin	3,434,575	0.82	98.78	.40
Oregon	1,521,341	0.76	98.41	.83
Iowa	2,621,073	0.75	99.18	.07
Minnesota	2,982,483	0.47	99.03	.50
Utah	688,862	0.40	98.26	1.34
Montana	591,024	0.21	96.79	3.00
Idaho	588,637	0.18	98.77	1.05
New Hampshire	533,242	0.14	99.82	.04
Maine	913,774	0.13	99.68	.19
Vermont	377,747	0.12	99.85	.03
South Dakota	652,740	0.11	96.29	3.60
North Dakota	619,636	0.04	98.19	1.76

Source: Population data from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950.

EXHIBIT 6

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL AND QUESTIONNAIRE TO COUNTY AND CITY SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS WITH TABULATIONS OF ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS FROM 8 TO 18 INCLUSIVE

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

October 5, 1954

County and City Superintendents
Greetings:

In the school segregation cases pending for re-argument in the Supreme Court of the United States, beginning December 6, this State has accepted the invitation of the Court to appear amicus curiae and file a brief containing answers suggested by this State to the two questions formulated by the Supreme Court to be considered at that time. The first question is: "Would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of

their choice?" The second question is: "May this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?"

We enclose three copies of a questionnaire which we are sending to county and city superintendents throughout the State as to what may happen at the time steps are taken to compel integration in the public schools, which is necessarily a matter of opinion. We would like to have your opinion, based upon your own knowledge and observations and such information as you have been able to obtain in conference with school and other officials and others in your administrative unit, in answer to the questions contained in this questionnaire, to assist us in presenting our brief and argument in the Supreme Court.

It is important that nothing be done to intensify feelings on this subject. For that reason, we request that you do not discuss this questionnaire with anyone except in a confidential way.

"YES" and "NO" answers are requested to most of the questions in order that we may get results of the questionnaire in composite and tabulative form. Please be sure to furnish these answers if you can with such other and further explanations as you think should be made. Promptness in your reply is extremely important as time is very limited. *Please give this your immediate and preferred attention and mail two copies of the questionnaire with your answers by October 11 to Harry McMullan, Attorney General, Raleigh, North Carolina.*

There will be no disclosure of the names of the various superintendents answering this questionnaire. The results of the tabulation only will be made public by probably being included in the brief to be filed with the Supreme Court.

Yours very truly,
s/ Chas. F. Carroll
Chas. F. Carroll
State Superintendent Public Instruction
Harry McMullan
Attorney General

QUESTIONS FOR SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

1. Name of administrative unit: .....
(county, city)
2. What is the total 1954 enrollment? .....
   a. White enrollment?.....
   b. Indian enrollment?.....
   c. Negro enrollment?.....
3. How many schools are there in your unit?.....
   a. White?.....
   b. Indian?.....
   c. Negro?.....
4. How many teachers and principals in your unit?.....
   a. White?.....
   b. Indian?.....
   c. Negro?.....
5. How many school busses are operated?.....
   a. White?.....
   b. Indian?.....
   c. Negro?.....
6. How many of the schools in your unit, now used exclusively for white children, could accommodate any substantial number of Negro children without displacing any white children?.....
7. How many of the schools in your unit, now used exclusively for Negro children, could accommodate any substantial number of white children without displacing any Negro children?.....
8. In the event the Supreme Court of the United States shall decree in the pending school segregation cases that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting Negro children should *forthwith* be admitted to schools of their choice in your county or city administrative unit and if Negro children in substantial numbers elect to attend the public schools heretofore exclusively operated for white children, do you have reason to believe that white school children and their parents would peacefully accept this decision and attend such mixed schools? (Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—7 No—158 D.K.—1

Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

9. If your answer to Question No. 8 is "No," do you have reason to believe that the attempt to integrate the public schools in your administrative unit will seriously interfere with and impair your ability to conduct these schools for the year 1955-56?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—147 No—13 D.K.—1
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

10. Would immediate mixing of the races in the public schools in your administrative unit cause serious complications in the operation of school busses serving your schools?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—126 No—25 D.K.—1
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

11. In the event of immediate integration of your schools, would you find it practicable to use Negro teachers in mixed classes?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—3 No—162 D.K.—
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

12. In the event of immediate integration of your public schools, would you have any serious difficulties in securing a sufficient number of properly trained white school teachers to teach in mixed schools?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—137 No—23 D.K.—4
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

13. In the event of immediate integration, would you have any reason to believe that the mixing of the races in the public schools of your unit would create serious problems of discipline in these schools?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—150 No—13 D.K.—2
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

14. Would such an integrated program seriously affect the extra-curricular activities in the schools in your administrative unit?

(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—148 No—16 D.K.—1
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

15. Would, in your opinion, such immediate integration of the races cause parents in large numbers to withdraw their children from such schools?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—142 No—20 D.K.—2
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

16. Is there such difference in the average attainments between white and Negro children as to seriously impair instruction in mixed schools?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—140 No—22 D.K.—3
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

17. Would, in your opinion, white children or their parents elect to attend any school heretofore conducted for Negro children?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes— No—165 D.K.—
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

18. In the event that the Supreme Court should decree that there should be a *gradual* adjustment brought about from the existing segregated system of public schools to a system not based on color distinction, and provided that sufficient length of time were allowed for such gradual adjustment, would the schools of your unit be better able to cope with the problems presented by such a decision?
(Answer "Yes" or "No") Yes—151 No—9 D.K.—5
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

Name and Position of person answering this questionnaire

....

Name Position

EXHIBIT 7

A

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 8 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "In the event the Supreme Court of the United States shall decree in the pending school segregation cases that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should *forthwith* be admitted to schools of their choice in your county or city administrative unit, and if Negro children in substantial numbers elect to attend the public schools heretofore exclusively operated for white children, do you have reason to believe that white school children and their parents would peacefully accept this decision and attend such mixed schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(4427) N(26)
"I believe that the *majority* would accept the decision reluctantly, but a very substantial minority would fight such a decision to the limit."

W(6724) N(1827)
"A large portion of the people would probably tolerate mixing of children but there would be strong protests, much unhappiness, and many disturbing incidents. A small portion of the people would not accept the decision at all unless force were used."

W(3281) N(811)
"If a large number of Negro children should elect to attend any one white school here, the white people would rebel. We have one situation here where Negroes, because of transporttation, would go in large numbers to a white school."

W(1051) N(441)
"Integration would not be unanimously accepted. Should the county take the Negroes from our attendance area, the unit would be seriously affected unless other children were assigned to this area."

W(2301) N(1702)
"There would be riots, boycotts, and other serious disturbances. It will take a minimum of 25 years to bring about desegregation."

W(2262) N(1835)
"Individual members (all of them) on our School Board say that it will not work here."

W(2432) N(1661)
"The health and moral standards and intellectual abilities are inferior in our Negro children to those of the white children."

W(3534) N(646)
"Our people, in my opinion, would rebel against any immediate plan of integration. Those inclined to accept the mandate of the Supreme Court would be overwhelmed by the others."

W(1710) N(1208)
"If children attend the schools nearest to where they live there will be a minimum of trouble."

W(2256) N(1506)
"Violence will be inevitable and swift."

W(1523) N(1455)
"Parents have expressed their opinion very freely on this subject, and very few are willing to send their children to non-segregated schools."

W(3375) N(2733)
"All schools are accommodating from 25 to 50 per cent more

students than their reasonable capacity; therefore, no room for additions."

W(1795) N(194)
"The change factor here, if nothing more, would be sufficient to prohibit *peaceful acceptance*. I do not mean to say that there would be acceptance otherwise."

W(3256) N(1455)
"Children and parents would not peacefully accept this decision and attend mixed schools."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"From all that I have heard in this county, practically nobody is of the opinion that the Supreme Court's decision can be put into effect at this time."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"Judging by the telephone calls and the conversations provoked, I expect some very unhappy developments."

W(1878) N(0)
"I believe a majority would comply reluctantly, not peacefully, however."

W(8578) N(3442)
"My only reason for answering No is based on the number and frequency of questions asked by white parents about the Supreme Court decision."

W(2117) N(1172)
"In my opinion any considerable mixing of the races in the public schools here would bring complete chaos to the educational program in the community."

W(2398) N(875)
"Judging by what is happening elsewhere."

W(2812) N(1868)
"Precedent: Threatened action of patrons of one of our

schools few years ago when one child of reputed and alleged mixed blood sought entrance."

W(2603) N(7753)
"I do not believe that children and parents in this area, which is so heavily populated by Negroes, would accept peacefully a decision that they must attend mixed schools. Neither race is prepared or willing to accept the decision."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"This question should be expanded to include Negroes and Indians and by the very nature of the parents and children they absolutely would refuse to accept the idea of mixed schools. Our problem is tri in nature, or even actually quadrangular because we have whites, Negroes, Indians and a fourth group that neither race will claim, and the very instinctive nature of the people will make this possible task prohibitive."

W(5120) N(1683)
"Definitely No.—Our white patrons would strongly protest entrance of Negro children into the white schools. Many of them would keep their children out of school. A few would allow their children to attend with reluctance."

W(3295) N(1900)
"Many of our parents have indicated that they are seeking to get the compulsory school attendance law repealed in the next session of the General Assembly to enable them to teach or have their children taught at home. One and two teacher private schools will appear throughout our communities. If force is attempted to integrate rapidly, violence will occur in my opinion."

W(6253) N(50)
"There will be considerable resentment."

W(1132) N(118)
"Many people, because of tradition and prejudice, will not

peacefully submit to mixed schools."

W(3901) N(777)
"Rural white and textile whites will not easily mix with Negroes."

W(2795) N(1111)
"I believe that this change would be too drastic to be accepted without serious dissatisfaction and without challenge to constituted authority."

W(6487) N(2276)
"We have only one white school with any space left. There is a much more modern Negro school one block from it."

W(696) N(157)
"We have many people who would accept integration, but we have many who would violently oppose it. This latter group would be composed almost wholly of people who could not send students to private schools."

W(3228) N(2515)
"Recent experiences in border states, where there is but a sprinkling of Negro students, indicate the strife that will accompany integration in the South. Problems that have arisen in the border states would doubtless be greatly multiplied in the South."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)
"Almost all white children would stay at home. Most of the Negro children would do likewise. I have heard Negro parents say they would not allow their children to attend mixed schools as trouble would arise."

W(3494) N(4163)
"An example of the attitude of the people occurred last winter in the School District. I am not proud of it, but it did happen. The colored high school at ..... had a good glee club, and the colored principal asked the white principal about

bringing them over to the white school to sing at the chapel program. The invitation was extended to the colored school and the white principal made an announcement to the children about the program. The children thought nothing about it, but the parents descended on the principal and school board almost in mob violence; so the invitation had to be retracted. This occurrence opened my eyes, and I am just giving you this as an example of what did occur. I think it would be much worse should integration be attempted."

W(552) N(371)
"I have not heard any parent express a willingness to send their children to school where the Negroes are attending."

W(1755) N(1030)
"No one has expressed himself in favor of integration, but the general consensus is against integration. Some high school children have been sent to private schools this year."

W(2460) N(2597)
"I do not know whether you would call it prejudice, but under present conditions the white people will not submit peacefully to this change."

W(3270) N(409)
"Answer based on belief that some of our people would object strongly enough to create a difficult problem."

W(3919) N(2223)
"Practically all of our people feel that such a decision would not be accepted peacefully."

W(9127) N(257)
"Some of the parents might accept it, but others would not under any circumstances, law or no law. Some of these mountain people have definite opinions. Even some of the best informed people have expressed a very bitter attitude."

W(3885) N(74)
"My opinion is that although there might not be any violence

there would be considerable disturbance which would result in a very unhappy and unhealthy situation, especially for the Negro children."

W(9783) N(2305)
"During the month of August we had telephone calls from parents protesting the mixing. People thought the order was effective for the current year."

W(4224) N(66)
"Probably a portion of the parents and children in the urban areas would accept the Negroes, but I doubt that those in the rural areas would."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Expressions already made indicate there would be intense feelings and disturbances."

W(1826) N(1190)
"Our adults would not peacefully accept the decision because: 1. They feel that the Negroes are as well housed as the white children. 2. They think that the Negro children are insanitary and unhygienic. 3. They think that such a social disturbance should not have been thrust upon them so suddenly. 4. They consider the decision an infringement of local and state rights."

W(2905) N(798)
"I think there would be ranging from some to quite considerable oral protests and complaints. If properly presented by school authorities I do not believe there would be any physical violence. Some, but not a considerable number of white children be held out, withdrawn or strike. This I believe would be temporary."

W(2297) N(397)
"This problem would perhaps not be quite so serious in ..... as in some other places, due to the fact that our Negro population is small and concentrated entirely in one district."

W(1937) N(928)
"Neither parents nor students are ready or willing to have mixed schools."

W(1139) N(750)
"I base my answer upon comments and statements I have heard white people make."

W(7416) N(148)
"In view of the small number of Negro children in this county resistance might be less violent than in other counties."

W(4165) N(3107)
"The attitude of the majority of the people is one of watchful waiting. Insofar as I can tell there is no desire on the part of the great majority of the Negro pupils and parents to have the schools integrated. There is a determination quiet at present on the part of a big majority of the white people to maintain separate schools regardless of the cost."

W(1130) N(811)
"I am of the opinion that parents of white children will do some drastic before they will allow their children to be immediately integrated with Negro children."

W(2577) N(148)
"Only one white elementary school in my unit would ever be involved. Some of the parents and some of the children would resist such a move just as they have in Washington, D. C. Ohio; Maryland; and other places where it has been tried."

W(4068) N(27)
"Some parents would accept the decision peacefully, perhaps the majority. A few would organize resistance and would take their children out of school. Many parents would want to send the children to schools in the county that would be free of Negroes."

W(9983) N(4822)
"The spirit of harmony, developed since the days of Aycock

was rudely disrupted by a racketeer group that started an 'equalization' suit 4 years ago. They found the schools so nearly equal in facilities that an advisor stated 'you can lose this suit.' It was withdrawn from Court but not before this group had succeeded in arousing racial bitterness and distrust. In a speech to county officials this group boasted that 'regardless of how equal we find facilities in your county —you haven't a chance to win.' They boasted that the Court was with them all down the line. Confidence in Federal justice was severely shaken."

W(1778) N(619)
"In my opinion, this would result in an armed riot with possible blood shed on both sides."

W(3250) N(1288)
"It was rumored that on September 13, 1954, Negro children would go to the ..... School for enrollment. White people from all over .... County were at or near the school on that date. Patrolmen, the sheriff, and policemen were present. No Negro children appeared and nothing happened but the feeling was running high for three days. The news had spread to all parts of the county and many were ready to come to the place of the scene if needed. I am sure that violence would have occurred if any Negro children had shown up for entrance. Many parents kept their children at home for these three days for fear of a riot. At our request, we had no publicity in the papers about this."

W(1835) N( ) I(393)
"Our people have provided equal schools for both colored and white and they feel that it is best for the white and colored children to go to their own schools."

W(3388) N(329)
"We have six white schools in ..... County. Two of these schools, ... and ..... school districts have no Negro children. Negroes are not allowed to move into these two communities. Our ..... school would have 55 Negro chil-

dren, and there is an unwritten law in the ..... school district that does not permit the sun to set on a Negro in that community. Our ..... school would have 75 Negro children and the entire community of one thousand whites are strongly opposed. Our ..... school would have 30 Negro children, strongly opposed by the whites. The rest of our 329 Negro children enrolled in ..... County would be enrolled in the ..... school in which our one Negro school is located. That would place a total of 169 in the ..... School. Not a single person in the ..... community has stated they would go along with integration."

W(1831) N(235)
"We believe both races would be highly resentful."

W(1787) N(1575)
"Many citizens tell me that it can never happen here. The disturbances which are occurring in Delaware; Baltimore, Maryland; Washington, D. C.; and other places seem to indicate that integration can be accomplished only by force."

W(3738) N( )
"I believe there will be incidents which could be serious, particularly if complete integration is attempted suddenly."

W(4781) N(715)
"Geographical location of Negro children, with some few exceptions, would make the Negro school the logical one for them to attend."

W(2272) N(2638)
"Great disturbances would occur."

W(1000) N(675)
"I am afraid integration will bring about a great deal of trouble to this community which now has splendid race relations."

W(1270) N(1090)
"My opinion is based upon comments of parents and high school pupils."

W(638) N(721)
"If you think other areas have had a rough time, you don't know anything as to what would happen here."

W(6468) N(4337)
"The situation in Washington, Maryland, and Delaware is only a slight breeze compared to the storm we shall have here. It is my opinion that there will be bloodshed."

W(1571) N(2236)
"Because of recent remarks and definite stands on this question by all white parents and citizens in this community with exception of a few ministers."

W(2694) N(1492)
"Those parents and school students who have talked to me have expressed opposition to having the children of Negro and white parents attend the same school."

W(1821) N(428)
"I believe that it would take time. However, I do not believe we would have any Negroes who would want to change unless outside persons interferred."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"It is my opinion that white children and white parents will not accept school attendance in the same buildings in ..... County."

W(3137) N(2210)
"I believe there will be trouble."

W(7175) N(6916)
"Time for public opinion to adjust itself to integration will be necessary and that will take more than one, or two, or three years."

W(13,996) N(1604)
"Remember the ..... case. In certain sections of the county it will be worse. If the local School Board, the State School Board and the State as a whole couldn't operate buses at ....., how can they keep them going this time?"

W(2125) N(15) I(113)
"Parents have expressed their feelings on this matter and say they will not allow their children to attend public school with the colored people."

W(8112) N(2177)
"All answers have been given after consultation with Board of Education and District School Committeemen."

W(3330) N(2681)
"Our hope is in 'schools of their choice.' We have outlined new boundaries and in each case it will be a ratio of 95 to 5. We suggest the minority attend the school of their choice."

W(2629) N(953)
"The feeling on the part of our school patrons is that excellent facilities have already been provided in the Negro school to take care of their needs. For the most part, our Negro citizens live in the general vicinity of their own school."

W(2342) N(2685)
"It is my considered opinion that the people of ..... County will not peacefully acc[illegible] integrated schools, now or at any time in the foreseeable future."

W(5284) N(All colored children in the county are transported to a consolidated school in the ..... city Unit.)
"The total colored school population in the county is approximately 150. This would range from 1 to 20 pupils to be distributed in 10 white schools each. The percentage of colored children against the whites in any one school would be so

low that it would make a very unfair hardship on the colored child to make the necessary adjustments. The same would apply to transportation problems."

W(2409) N(562)
"The patrons of our schools are very determined that we not have mixed schools."

W(6631) N(313)
"They will not accept it. Some will stop their children. In some cases there might be violence."

W(1926) N(533)
"I believe the parents of children in the lower grades would be prone to accept but not those of children in the upper grades. There are many parents, although not in majority, who would not initially accept this arrangement but might in the future."

W(15,551) N(410)
"I do not believe that the decision of the Supreme Court will be willingly followed by the people in this section."

W(1550) N(107)
"Many of our mountain people are given to taking the law into their own hands and settling their emotional differences violently."

W(8661) N(3624)
"There is extreme feeling about this matter on the part of a militant minority—parents and teachers."

W(675) N(764)
"Even discussion of the possibility brings very strong emotional reaction. There was, and still is, strong opposition to those connected with the building program in which approximately 2/3 of the money was spent on Negro schools. With 'better' Negro buildings available there would be a possibility of violent reaction to Negroes *attempting* to enroll in white schools."

W(2379) N(4469)
"It will take an army to enforce segregation in ..... County at this time. I am afraid that riots and bloodshed will result. You cannot change the customs and traditions of people over night."

W(999) N(1062)
"Integration of the races is not desired by either the whites or the Negroes in this Eastern North Carolina community."

W(5542) N(3469)
"The answer is based on comments made by many patrons."

W(4083) N(2344)
"The people have no idea of accepting a decision of integrating the schools."

W(8331) N(4023)
"Do not feel the public would accept such a change without a strong fight—maybe not then."

B

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 8 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "In the event the Supreme Court of the United States shall decree in the pending school segregation cases that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should *forthwith* be admitted to schools of their choice in your county or city administrative unit, and if Negro children in substantial numbers elect to attend the public schools heretofore exclusively operated for white children, do you have reason to believe that white school children and their parents would peacefully accept this decision and attend such mixed schools?"

The W, N or I followed by numerals indicate the white,

Negro or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(2796) N(782)
"In my opinion, about 75% of the people, if they had to, would accept it peacefully, even though it would be very distasteful to them. The others will likely withdraw or complain and fight the action—gradually this will likely give way to submission."

W(3669)
"Our situation is not typical of the state. We have only 8 colored children and they are now being transported to ..... They could be absorbed by the schools at ..... without difficulty, if we can trust what the white children say. The P.T.A. of 200 members, expresses this same opinion."

W(1392) N(604)
"We have relative few Negroes in this area, and the majority of the younger people have no racial prejudices."

W(4112) N(55)
"Majority of Negro children prefer to attend the Negro school."

W(14,452) N(2,475)
"Consultation with a substantial number of Negro patrons indicates that very few, if any, Negro children would elect to attend white schools."

W(11,458) N(4,441)
"This I do not know. The problem is unquestionably an explosive one, but our Polio Hospital School has been integrated since 1948. Our newest and finest Hospital is integrated. Our Social Agency Council is non-segregated. A Negro has been elected Councilman, and another Negro has been appointed a member of the Board of Education."

C

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 9 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "If your answer to Question No. 8 is 'No,' do you have reason to believe that the attempt to integrate the public schools in your administrative unit will seriously interfere with and impair your ability to conduct these schools for the year 1955-56?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(2577) N(148)
"As stated above, only one of five elementary schools would ever be affected in any way. At some future date, some of the Negro pupils may ask to come to the white school for certain vocational courses. I do not believe this will happen soon."

W(4068) N(27)
"All the Negro children of the county live in ....., except two of school age. These two would probably want to attend school here. Only one school in our county would have Negro children in it."

W(1679)
"No Negroes in ..... County."

W(638) N(721)
"I think we can handle our local situation with support at *state level.*"

W(2125) N(15) I(113)
"We have only 22 colored students—8 high school and 14 elementary. Elementary children would attend their own

school because it is located in the center of the colored district. The colored high school pupils would not care to attend our white high school. They are transported to ..... County to a colored high school there."

W(2629) N(953)
"I have little reason to believe that our Negro patrons desire admission into the white schools. It is further my belief that unless outside influence and pressure is brought to bear upon our Negro citizens, little trouble need be anticipated."

W(15,551) N(410)
"We are transporting high school children from ..... County to ..... We have two elementary schools that are as well equipped as the white."

W(4427) N(26)
"The small number of Negro children in the county tends to minimize the scope of the problem. Only one school would be materially affected. If Question 9 is made to apply to that one school only, the answer would be 'yes'."

W(1051) N(441)
"From an administrative standpoint of students, teachers, and principals, no; parents could seriously interfere with our ability to conduct the schools for 1955-56."

W(8578) N(3442)
"Possibly No, if careful study is made in redistricting."

D

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 9 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "If you answer to Question No. 8 is 'No,' do you have reason to believe that the attempt to integrate the public

schools in your administrative unit will seriously interfere with and impair your ability to conduct these schools for the year 1955-56?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(6724) N(1827)
"Since Negro children are as well, if not better, provided for in our schools than the white children, we do not see that it would be an advantage to the Negro children to mix them with whites. The people would say that such a decision would be arbitrary and without justification. The intimate and personal relationships which exist between pupils and teachers and between teachers and parents would be broken down. There would be conflicts in the area of social relationships. By mixing children, we would sacrifice many of the things which make for quality of public education for a mythical goal which is commonly termed 'equality'."

W(3281) N(811)
"Unless the process is a very gradual one, the results will be detrimental to both white and colored."

W(2796) N(782)
"Yes, if integration must take place by then. A gradual program begining with the primary children only might be effected without too much serious interference."

W(2262) N(1835)
"Some of the ..... Club members have told that they simply *will not* allow their children to attend school with Negroes."

W(2432) N(1661)
"Any abrupt change would seriously interfere in operation of our schools."

W(2373) N(4419)
"If many Negro children entered the difference would create a great problem."

W(9619) N(7122)
"We should have more time for our folks to become emotionally ready for integration in the public schools."

W(3534) N(646)
"The most popular candidate for our current race for school trustees is an outspoken, radical opponent of integration, even though he has done very little for our schools in the past and has never been actively affiliated with school progress."

W(1710) N(1208)
"We have no extra classroom space."

W(2256) N(1506)
"Attendance will fall off very sharply as well-to-do parents send children to private schools. Truancy will become a very great problem—other parents will not try hard to make children go to school."

W(1523) N(1455)
"Many white parents have said they would not send their children to integrated schools. Negroes have told us they would keep their children at home rather than risk having them get into trouble with white children or parents. Another problem would be objections to using Negro teachers to teach white pupils. Very few white parents would tolerate this situation. Children in this unit usually offer no discipline problem, but I do not believe the Negro teacher could handle white children."

W(3494) N(4163)
"I think that it would mean that only the Negro children would attend the public schools. From the experience noted above, it is evident that the white people do not intend to go with Negroes. The Negroes will go to the white schools if they are ordered to do so, though I do not think many of them really want to go to the white schools. If integration is ordered, it is my sincere opinion that it will mean the

end of the public school system. I do not think that I would have the nerve or the fortitude to withstand the embarrassments and insults that would be hurled at me. I think that the strain will take its toll of superintendents."

W(552) N(371)
"You can not administer a school system without the support of the majority of the people. In this instance, it appears that all the white people and 98% of the Negroes of this county are opposed to integration."

W(6211) N(1837)
"..... County recently—the last 4 years—has gone 'all out' to bring the building program and equipment up to, or to surpass, that provided for the white race. The County now has only 3 Negro Schools:
1. ..... with 24 elem. teachers and 11 H.S. teachers
2. .....with 12 elem. teachers
3. ..... with 10 elem. teachers
Approximately $515,000 has been put in these buildings with equipment in the last 2 years. The white race will feel that the Negro race has as good as they have, and that the Negro race should be satisfied with their own schools—that both races would thus be better off with separate schools."

W(1755) N(1030)
"Some petitions outside of school circles have been circulated against integration. It is not general knowledge but one such meeting (against integration) has been held."

W(2460) N(2597)
"I just would not know how to suggest the mixing of the races in this county with any peace."

W(3665) N(22)
"Considering the fact that we have only a small number of Negro students, I find considerable feeling against integration."

W(9127) N(257)
"Having only a small number makes the problem even more difficult. It would not be safe for the minority group. As we are situated, there would not be over fifty colored children in any one school. These in school with several hundred white children would be in danger for a long time to come. We have already had evidence of this by children on buses passing each other clashing. It would be bad for even the colored children."

W(1987) N(1303)
"The situation resulting would be disastrous."

W(9783) N(2305)
"The pattern set by schools in the states north of our state will likely to be followed in North Carolina."

W(2774) N(3036)
"In order to conduct schools properly any administration would need a large percentage of cooperation from parents and pupils. We would not have this!"

W(2297) N(397)
"At the present time every classroom is filled and any integration would simply mean the swapping of pupils as between the races."

W(1937) N(928)
"Absenteeism, strikes and riots would be the order of the day."

W(3273) N(875)
"All my energies will be taken up keeping the peace."

W(2603) N(7753)
"It is my opinion that an attempt to integrate the public schools in this administrative unit would prevent the operation of schools in the year 1955-56. There would be such wide-

spread disorder, and perhaps even violence, as to cause operation of schools to be impossible."

W(4548) N(916)
"Definitely—*all* schools in our units are filled to capacity or overflowing. Any transfer of pupils would seriously affect those schools having increases. For example, our schools in the eastern part of our unit have no Negro population. Parents now living in our more thickly populated centers have said they would move to the eastern section. This would create a demand on the limited facilities of those small schools that we could not care for."

W(2812) N(1868)
"Yes—emphatically."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"I believe this answer to be totally unbiased, that neither myself nor any living human being can conduct our schools on an integrated or partially on an integrated basis for the school year 1955-56 and I believe if it is a decision of the Supreme Court that this be commenced within the foreseeable future, our only alternative would be to close the doors of every school. The racial lines are drawn by the very inherent nature of our people and certainly these barriers cannot be removed, regardless of the efforts that may be exerted by the Supreme Court, local school board or local school people."

W(5120) N(1683)
"It would probably result in reduced appropriations on the local level. It might slow down our building program. It would reduce attendance. It would cause general confusion. There might be a reign of terror. Such an attempt would be loaded with the explosive ingredients of the atom."

W(3295) N(1900)
"In the school districts where the Negro pupils exceed the white pupils in number, the cultural, moral, and general

educational achievement of the Negro pupils is less than that of the white pupils and less than that of Negro pupils in districts where they constitute a small percentage of the total pupil population. In my opinion the white parents in those districts where Negro children are more numerous than white children will not send their children to integrated schools next year. Attempts to use force will, in my opinion, create violence. Some program to provide gradual integration spread out over a period of many years seems essential to maintain a semblance of efficiency in public schools."

W(1132) N(118)
"Time spent in the solution of problems of integration, the loss of morale, and the loss of a high degree of the public support of schools, would certainly interfere with the successful operation of the schools."

W(6253) N(50)
"People here have not been able to convince themselves that this should be done."

W(1878)
"But I do not believe it would create an impossible situation."

W(755) N(522)
"I believe that an attempt to integrate the public schools in this year for the 1955-56 year would result in such an emotional reaction that the normal conduct of the schools would be practically impossible."

W(17,926) N(7,984)
"Too often people are saying 'See what is happening in Delaware, Maryland, Ohio and West Virginia'."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"While I cannot predict with any great degree of certainty as to what will take place, I am positive in my thinking that there will be rebellion, and that it will take years to overcome the conditions that will cause such. If rebellion comes,

and there are serious consequences, it may take years to overcome the results of such consequences."

W(3256) N(1455)
"Many parents have expressed themselves that they will remove their children from school."

W(1795) N(194)
"At present—with the advice of architects, professional School Survey persons and our School Board—together with all available money, we will not have sufficient white classroom space in 1955-56 under our present program."

W(3901) N(777)
"Integration will be difficult at any time. With all white and Negro school buildings now crowded, mixing the races with pupils necessarily thrown together in crowded conditions would seriously increase difficulty of integrating."

W(2795) N(1111)
"The emotional climate of the integrated schools would make it difficult to administer them effectively, in my opinion."

W(6487) N(2276)
"Very few of our parents of white students are ready to accept integration. The citizens living in areas where the average income is low, and where there are Negro residential sections, seem to harbor more resentment on mixing the races than better informed parents in higher economic areas."

W(696) N(157)
"I think attendance would be seriously impaired, that community-school relationships would be completely disrupted and that student discipline might be destroyed."

W(3228) N(2515)
"Schools accomplish results through a co-operative effort with the community in which they are located. Arguments and strife which would doubtless accompany integration would

obviously set our school program back many years and destroy much of what has been accomplished in improved race relations of recent years."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)
"Not only during the year 1955-56, but all during the foreseeable future. Our people have been most cautious and conservative in their statements. But it needs only an overt act to blow things up. A good illustration of the way our people feel. This week, a prominent citizen made this statement. "Just last week I guaranteed a $93.00 hospital bill for my daughter's cook. For some reason the Welfare Dept. could not help her. I didn't want her to die even though I had never seen her but one time. I didn't mind helping her out, but I'll be damned if my grand children are going to school with her children."

W(7416) N(148)
"The people of this county would not accept integration in 1955-56."

W(4165) N(3107)
"If the situation described in No. 8 should develop it would mean that for every Negro pupil admitted to a now white school that an equal number of white pupils would be forced to attend a now Negro school. This would lead to boycotts, demonstrations or perhaps worse. A militant police program of enforcement would be required for a number of years. Educational opportunities for both races would suffer."

W(1130) N(811)
"I don't believe that an integrated school can be conducted in this unit now, nor for years to come."

W(9983) N(4822)
"(1) Negro schools are organized to take care of their racial needs, e.g. bright, average and low mentality groups are given courses of study quite different in academic levels. Integration would call for a drastic change of this organization

very detrimental to the Negro.
(2) The white schools would either have to lower their standards or fill our primary grades with over-age Negro children. (A chart showing this situation is available.)
(3) At the high school level at least 40% of the Negro students would be dropped according to even the lowest provision of adjusted courses in the white school.
(4) The difference in attitudes, accent, viewpoints, rate of physical growth, mentality, or in other words, Race, makes the experiment one unprecedented in history. Egypt integrated her peasants with about the same percentage of Negro that we have. They, however, did this over a period of many centuries, producing the modern fellaheen."

W(1778) N(619)
"I do not believe that we could operate the schools at all with integrated classes during the 1955-1956 school year."

W(1571) N(2236)
"With the large number of Negro children in this county and the attitude of the vast majority of white citizens against integrated schools, no one will be able to conduct our schools satisfactorily, if at all. There would be 'violent reaction' to any move to integrate ..... County Schools."

W(6468) N(4337)
"It will be impossible to have such schools or to administer such schools. The Army would experience trouble in conducting such schools."

W(1270) N(1090)
"Most of the people I have talked with do not believe the schools should be mixed."

W(1000) N(675)
"The impact will be too great. No decision can change the customs and feelings of people which have been a part of them for years in so short a time."

W(2272) N(2638)
"Public relations and the resistance of white patrons, pupils and teachers to integration would make administration an almost impossible task."

W(3738) N( )
"This answer is given with the understanding that schools would be seriously affected and my ability to administer them likewise affected if complete integration is to be attempted *in toto* and without such being done gradually."

W(1787) N(1575)
"In some schools there would not be classroom space if segregation is abolished and Negro children admitted to schools previously operated for white children only. If the Negro high school students now attending the ..... county ..... School at ..... are integrated at ....., there would not be classrooms for them."

W(1831) N(235)
"Both races will object with vigor. Many children will quit school. Many others will be in and out so much that it will be most difficult to conduct a satisfactory program."

W(3388) N(329)
"The people in ..... County will not accept an integrated public school system. It just won't work here. The ratio percentage of Negro children to white children is only about 8%, but this fact hasn't meant anything to the average citizen when I attempted to explain that our Negro school child problem was quite simple as compared with other areas in North Carolina, and more especially the deep South."

W(3250) N(1288)
"Our school busses and our classrooms are crowded. For the school year 1955-1956, we would be faced with an impossibility."

W(999) N(1062)
"The trouble that is now being experienced in Ohio, West

Virginia, Delaware and the District of Columbia is indicative of the feeling that exists over this matter, and the feeling in Eastern North Carolina where we have almost equal numbers of whites and Negroes is even more intense than it is in these border and Northern states."

W(2379) N(4469)
"It will take an army to enforce segregation in ..... County at this time. I am afraid that riots and bloodshed will result. You cannot change the customs and traditions of people over night."

W(675) N(764)
"Even discussion of the possibility brings very strong emotional reaction. There was, and still is, strong opposition to those connected with the building program in which approximately 2/3 of the money was spent on Negro schools. With 'better' Negro buildings available there would be a possibility of violent reaction to Negroes *attempting* to enroll in white schools."

W(8661) N(3624)
"Many teachers would quit (white). Attendance would be poor (white and Negro). Antagonistic feelings and attitudes would seriously impair the program."

W(1550) N(107)
"I personally believe that should the action be state-wide, we would not have too much trouble."

W(1821) N(428)
"The race relations are excellent now. No problem as it now stands."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"I believe that if integration is perfected in our public schools in ..... County that our white children will not attend school in 1955-56. Our parents and children are not ready for integration."

W(3137) N(2210)
"I do not believe *either* race is ready for integration."

W(7175) N(6916)
"Two problems that cannot be solved so quickly:

1. White population cannot be brought to accept it by 1955-56.
2. Building facilities and organization sufficient to handle situation will not be ready in 1955-56."

W(9335) N(1587)
"People are quite well pleased with our schools as they are, both white and Negro. I'm sure it would create a great deal of turmoil if integration of the races were attempted."

W(3330) N(2681)
"We have many people from all areas who are not willing to accept integration yet. If it has to come, it seems that a gradual introduction would be best."

W(5284) N(All colored children in the county are transported to a consolidated school in the ..... City Unit.)
"The sentiment at the present among our colored population in the various communities of the county is that they prefer to continue under the present set-up."

W(2409) N(562)
"Our Negro population is very happy with the present set-up as their school facilities are as good as the white children have. We would have no trouble if outsiders will leave the Negroes alone."

W(6631) N(313)
"I think it will seriously disorganize the schools. Neither race in this county wants to go to the same schools. They are satisfied as it is now. Ninety-five per cent of the colored would vote to keep it as it is now."

W(1926) N(533)

"1. Do not believe enough white teachers can be employed to fill positions.
2. Do not believe white patrons will send children to school under Negro teachers.
3. Building locations are wrong for an integrated program.
4. Resentment by certain groups to integration."

W(8331) N(4023)

"Public would lose interest in public education. Would not vote bond issues or tax levies for the continued advancement of schools—attendance would be less regular—compulsion would be impossible."

W(4083) N(2344)

"The Negroes want to attend their schools, and we all believe there will be no decision preventing the democratic method of choosing the school they are to attend. If the people are given a choice in choosing their school, there will be no problem in ..... County. The whites will attend theirs, and the Negroes will attend theirs; yet they can be given the information that they have a legal right to integrate."

E

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 10 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

> "Would immediate mixing of the races in the public schools in your administrative unit cause serious complications in the operation of school busses serving your schools?"

The W, N, or I, followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(4068) N(27)

"We only have about twenty-seven (27) Negro grade school

and fifteen (15) high school children and most of them would be in walking distance of the school."

W(2795) N(1111)
"We do not operate school busses at present. I would think that bus transportation problems would be even more difficult to deal with than classroom or building problems."

W(6487) N(2276)
"Negro high school students from this and other counties are transported to our Negro High School."

W(11,458) N(4441)
"Bus loads would be affected little, if at all."

W(3330) N(2681)
"We have only two, from a completely white housing area."

W(1926) N(533)
"Negro buses bring in mostly county students which would then go to county schools."

W(2125) N(15) I(113)
"Only one colored bus and it carries the high school students to ..... County colored high school."

W(2629) N(953)
"The only buses operating in our schools are those transporting high school students residing in the rural areas into our unit. The ..... County Schools do not operate a secondary school for Negroes."

W(1550) N(107)
"In our case all Negroes could be transported on one bus. They are segregated in two small communities not too far apart."

W(2297) N(397)
"No white pupils are transported."

W(3885) N(74)
"Provided buses continue to operate as now. At the present time we are operating only one bus for the Negroes and this bus could continue for the same purpose."

W(3270) N(409)
"Our buses cover a small geographic area for white children and a much larger area for Negro children."

W(6724) N(1827)
"Negro children do not live in areas now being served by busses for white children and white children do not live in areas now being served by busses for Negro children."

W(6253) N(50)
"Not enough would be affected."

F

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 10 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "Would immediate mixing of the races in the public schools in your administrative unit cause serious complications in the operation of school busses serving your schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(1523) N(1455)
"Our most serious problem would be the operation of non-segregated busses. Teachers would not be present to supervise and it is the opinion of our Board of Education that school transportation would have to be abolished. If so, this would abolish our school system."

W(2256) N(1506)
"At present our busses are being driven by 16, 17, and 18 year old children. They are incapable of driving safely when racial fights and arguments are going on behind them—and this will happen."

W(2432) N(1661)
"Routing and serving overcrowded schools for both races would complicate our present districting."

W(3275) N(2733)
"Both white and Negro children, as well as their parents, prefer that they be permitted to go to their own schools."

W(1051) N(441)
"This seems to be the area from which you hear so much complaint."

W(2398) N(875)
"Only Negroes are brought at present in County buses. Could this segregated bus be continued?"

W(3898) N(2681) I(5746)
"We have three races in our county. There is very little apparent disposition or sentiment in either of the races to mix the school population on busses or in schools."

W(1878)
"This would be an impossible situation unless adult bus drivers were employed to maintain discipline."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"There may be greater complications on account of necessity of children being packed close together. Practically all of our busses are loaded to capacity, including standing room."

W(3256) N(1455)
"This would create a greater problem than in the school room, because on the bus there is no supervision."

W(1795) N(194)
"Already operating on 'Overloads,' to white schools."

W(4548) N(916)
"Busses operating to the two centers of population of the unit travel the same routes. All busses, negro and white, are loaded to seating capacity. A mixing of the races on these busses would result in serious trouble."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"In our situation we have a total of 17 busses. Nine are hauling white children; eight are hauling Negro children, and it is my belief that the reaction of mixing the races on the busses would result in neither of the busses arriving at their destination, and I further believe that these busses would be destroyed by a combination of student and people reaction."

W(5120) N(1683)
"Due to the close bodily contact of children in school, white children would refuse to ride the same busses with Negro children. If ever forced to enter the same busses, the situation would become explosive."

W(3295) N(1900)
"The operation of busses on an integrated basis will constitute one of the greatest problems of integration. At the school the principal and teachers may be able to maintain order. The student drivers whom we employ to drive busses will not be able to cope with the problem that will arise on the routes."

W(1132) N(118)
"Personal contact on over-crowded busses would cause more problems than would result in classrooms under teacher supervision."

W(3494) N(4163)
"I think that this perhaps presents the biggest problem. If I were a parent, either white or colored, I do not think I

would let a child of mine attempt to ride a school bus unless there were an officer of the law in charge of the bus."

W(552) N(371)
"White and Negro children will not mix peacefully in this county, any more than oil and water."

W(6211) N(1837)
"Principals say that the most serious problem would be that of the busses. They say now that 90 per cent of disciplinary problems arise from bus transportation."

W(1755) N(1030)
"Parents and pupil comments."

W(2460) N(2597)
"The most of the trouble we have on busses is where one or two families are not on the best of terms. You are going to raise this to the "N" parents, when you add negroes."

W(9127) N(257)
"Most all busses would have a few colored children. The minority would be in constant trouble."

W(3885) N(74)
"At the present time we are operating only one bus for the Negroes and this bus could continue for the same purpose."

W(9782) N(2305)
"Comments from parents indicate that we may expect trouble"

W(4224) N(66)
"It would not so far as the physical or numbers of pupils per bus is concerned, but it would be a very serious social problem."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Lack of adult supervision on buses would make the situation

there more unacceptable than in classrooms. We have heard many expressions of this nature."

W(1826) N(1190)
"It seems that buses would have to transport white, Negro and Indian children in the same bus. With buses crowded, this would invite trouble from children and adults. It would be almost impossible to secure bus drivers if 2 or 3 races were allowed to ride same bus. Race prejudices would be manifest in violence."

W(1937) N(928)
"Whites would stay home rather than ride with Negroes."

W(1270) N(1090)
"My answer here is based on comments I have heard from parents and pupils."

W(8661) N(3624)
"In many instances Negro children would not be permitted to ride; if so, white children would not. Doubt if drivers could be secured."

W(675) N(764)
"Adequate supervision could not be provided. I could not take responsibility for what would happen. The situation is too explosive."

W(999) N(1062)
"It would necessitate the riding of Negro tenant children and white landlord children on the same bus and our people are not ready for this radical change without causing serious complications."

W(3250) N(1288)
"All is well at present. All busses are loaded to capacity. Why cause confusion by changing from the best to the worst?"

W(3388) N(329)
"Since we have only one Negro school in ..... County, and

that is located at ..... in the exact center of the county, and to this school we haul all Negro children out of every school district in the county, with the exception of two, there would be a few colored children on all of the 44 busses in this county with the exception of seven. It just won't work."

W(1831) N(235)
"Separate buses are presently crowded, and require more coverage of area than could be successfully done with an integrated program."

W(1787) N(1575)
"A superintendent in New York State once told me that many fights occurred between Negro and white pupils there while riding the school buses. There will be many more here for a long time."

W(1778) N(619)
"School busses are of necessity under limited supervision because teachers seldom ride the busses. We could not successfully transport both races together."

W(1130) N(811)
"This is where our most serious complications would begin."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)
"The white people will come nearer letting the children sit together in school than they will ride on the same busses."

W(696) N(157)
"Many families will not, under any circumstances, put white children on a bus where the races are mixed."

W(9983) N(4822)
"The friction, flare of tempers, and family feuds are bad enough on the crowded busses. If the racial problem were added, racial hatred would develop faster than for any other one phase of the amalgamation process decreed by the court. This county has Negroes on every bus line."

W(4910) N(2638)
"I fear serious trouble would result. Strikes, fights, and other mass resistance, I fear would occur."

W(1000) N(675)
"More trouble will occur on busses than anywhere as less adequate supervision is available."

W(6468) N(4337)
"It would mean the end of free transportation to school. White families would boycott school busses. In my opinion, the Legislature would abolish free school bus service making it necessary for each family to provide transportation. The poor of neither race would get to school."

W(1571) N(2236)
"White parents would seriously object to mixing pupils on school busses."

W(4781) N(715)
"City busses transport white children. Public school bus transports Negro children. Present city busses would not adequately serve Negro children."

W(638) N(721)
"White and colored children just aren't going to ride together—that is, not without serious trouble."

W(1821) N(428)
"Would complicate the routing, timing, and general transportation problems."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"I am sure that mixing of the races in our unit would complicate school bus operations to the extent that it would be impossible."

W(3137) N(2210)
"I believe the white children would refuse to ride, and

believe it would take force to make some of them agree to ride."

W(7175) N(6916)
"There would certainly be trouble between the races at this time."

W(9335) N(1587)
"We could serve all the children, but I think complications would develop in trying to transport both races on the same bus."

W(2342) N(2685)
"It is my opinion that student drivers can no longer be used if it becomes necessary to eliminate our dual transportation system."

W(15,551) N(410)
"With present buses loaded, unable to increase bus loads."

W(8331) N(4023)
"Would make an almost unbearable situation."

W(4083) N(2344)
"One of the most serious problems connected with integration."

W(5542) N(3469)
"Considerable re-routing would likely be necessary. White and colored children would likely not get along well on same bus."

G

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 11 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

"In the event of immediate integration of your schools, would you find it practicable to use Negro teachers in mixed classes?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(1051) N(441)
"The Negro personnel here is above the average in training."

W(2905) N(798)
"I believe it would be practicable to use Negro teachers if Negro children are in the majority."

W(6487) N(2276)
"We have some very fine Negro staff members. If I had children I would feel they were very fortunate to be taught by these superior teachers, but I doubt that many of our parents are ready to accept them as yet."

H

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 11 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

"In the event of immediate integration of your schools, would you find it practicable to use Negro teachers in mixed classes?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(4427) N(26)
"Even those parents who might accept integration as being inevitable would absolutely defy any attempts to used colored teachers in mixed classes."

W(1490) N(1784)
"Not practical from a standpoint of administration."

W(2301) N(1702)
"This simply cannot be done in our part of the state."

W(6724) N(1827)
"The protests would be more violent with regard to placing white children under a Negro teacher than they would be with regard to mixing white and colored children."

W(3281) N(811)
"Our people will not agree to this. It will take a long time before this could happen here."

W(2256) N(1506)
"The public will not permit it."

W(2432) N(1661)
"The average Negro teacher would be an inferior teacher when placed in a mixed situation."

W(5120) N(1683)
"White parents would not like for their children to be disciplined by Negro teachers. White children would resent Negro teachers. White children under Negro teachers would become objects of ridicule by pupils fortunate enough to have white teachers."

W(3295) N(1900)
"Under the existing machinery set up for electing teachers it is doubtful if any of our committees will elect Negro teachers for mixed classes."

W(1132) N(118)
"Our people would not accept Negro teachers at this time or in the foreseeable future."

W(1392) N(604)
"There is a general public feeling that Negro teachers are

not properly trained for the work."

W(6253) N(50)
"People here will not accept the Colored teacher."

W(8578) N(3442)
"No, unless the classes are predominantly Negro."

W(1795) N(194)
"Immediate integration or otherwise—there will probably be many factors available, other than race or color, for failure to recommend a Negro teacher for a white or mixed school."

W(3256) N(1455)
"The white parents would not allow colored teachers to teach their children."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"Right now I am positive that such would not work in this county, and that there would be no way of enforcing it."

W(2398) N(875)
"It would depend on the school, I think. Negro teachers would be used only in the schools that are now Negro schools."

W(1878)
"Our Board would not employ Negroes to teach mixed classes."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"White parents are not ready to accept Negro teachers."

W(4548) N(916)
"Our white parents will not accept Negro teachers for their children."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"I think the use of Negro teachers as instructional or administrative personnel would, out of absolute necessity, be

even farther in the future than total integration. The former is at this time impossible and the latter totally impossible."

W(2774) N(3036)
"We answer 'no' to the practicability, because observations made on numerous occasions have been to the effect that Negro teachers would not be acceptable with white parents and pupils—also, that Negro teachers would not be elected in the first place."

W(1826) N(1190)
"The scarcity of white teachers may force this to be done, and it is possible that it may work in classes made up of the primary age."

W(1937) N(928)
"Whites would not stand for it."

W(2297) N(397)
"Our people simply would not accept Negro instructors at the present time."

W(3885) N(74)
"In my opinion any white students would not attend mixed classes taught by Negro teachers."

W(8900) N(272)
"We have only 9 Negro teachers in our unit and I doubt if they would be accepted."

W(3494) N(4163)
"No, but you would have to do it due to shortage of white teachers."

W(6211) N(1837)
"I do not believe that a Negro teacher would be employed to teach white children under present law."

W(1755) N(1030)
"Both parents and teachers have expressed themselves to this effect."

W(2460) N(2597)
"I just believe the white children would make teaching so unpleasant that the teacher would leave the room."

W(3919) N(2223)
"Except where Negro students would be in great preponderance."

W(9127) N(257)
"I never expect this to take place in this county for years and years to come. We would not have any class in which a majority would be colored. The majority will control right or wrong.

W(9783) N(2305)
"Comments from parents have indicated objections to the practice."

W(4224) N(66)
"Our people absolutely will not accept Negro teachers."

W(696) N(157)
"I would not, under any circumstances, recommend a Negro teacher to teach white children in this town in the foreseeable future."

W(9983) N(4822)
"(a) Too many Negro teachers have been indoctrinated in ideas repulsive and antagonistic to the white race. I would not want to be responsible for what would happen if white pupils carried home some of the statements of Negro teachers. (b) Many Negro teachers have obtained high certificates without corresponding ability and knowledge. The ease with which higher degrees have often been obtained is a National disgrace.

(c) Negro teachers have been accustomed to teaching pupils of much lower mental ability and achievement. It would be a great tragedy for the white race to have to fall to their level of experience. It is so much easier to fall than to climb."

W(1139) N(750)
"I would not dare employ a Negro teacher to teach white children in this community."

W(3901) N(777)
"White children would not attend school taught by Negro teachers now; with small and gradual integration, this might be possible—But not now."

W(3228) N(2515)
"White parents and some teachers would not accept it."

W(7416) N(148)
"Negro teachers would, under all circumstances, be unacceptable to white children."

W(4068) N(27)
"We have a surplus of white teachers in our county and only one Negro teacher certified to teach. This teacher holds a "B" certificate."

W(2795) N(1111)
"I believe that there would be difficulty in administering discipline and conducting instruction in most instances."

W(1778) N(619)
"It would not be practical to place Negro teachers in mixed classes. Parents of white children would not send their children to school. Older children would rebel."

W(1130) N(811)
"Whites will refuse to send their children to Negro teachers."

W(4165) N(3107)
"There is no logical reason to believe that the situation here

would be different from that which has existed throughout the years in the non-segregated areas of this nation. The majority race which has controlled and will continue to control employment policies will not permit it."

W(1550) N(107)
"We have several sections of each grade in our school and a Negro teacher in only one or two sections would seriously hamper grade distribution."

W(1270) N(1090)
"We have white parents who will not let their children be taught by Negro teachers."

W(8661) N(91)
"Bad enough to have mixed classes."

W(675) N(764)
"White parents do not want them. I have hesitated about permitting Negro supervisors to visit in white schools because there is some feeling against Negroes going into white schools except as janitors or repairmen."

W(999) N(1062)
"The majority of white patrons would demand white teachers for their children. I believe that most Negro children prefer Negro teachers."

W(3250) N(1288)
"No principal would be able to operate a school under these circumstances because he could not be mentally happy. Whose children would be placed in this classroom? None of our white people will agree to this. Our principals would resign to work in other fields at less salary. Our white children would stay at home."

W(3388) N(329)
"There is no place for a Negro teacher in ..... County white schools. There would not be enough Negro children in any

one grade in any one school to give a majority of Negro children in the classroom that would justify the employment of a Negro teacher. Our Negro agriculture and home economics teachers would not have a job because the three white high schools, ..., ... and ..... all have vocational agriculture and home economics teachers. There would be only a few colored children in each of the six departments. There would actually be a saving in school personnel through integration of seven teachers."

W(1831) N(235)
"I do not think Negro teachers would be competent to teach white children. Their basic understanding and concepts are different and their standards are different."

W(1787) N(1575)
"Most white parents and children will object to Negro teachers teaching white children."

W(2272) N(2638)
"We have many well qualified Negro teachers, but using them under these conditions would just make matters worse."

W(1000) N(675)
"They would not be able to maintain discipline. White parents and white children will not accept them as teachers."

W(10,805) N(6468)
"Our schools would follow the pattern of the North. The only difference being we would have even fewer Negro teachers, if any."

W(1571) N(2236)
"White parents would not permit Negro teachers to teach their children."

W(638) N(721)
"We aren't employing any Negro teachers until the last white is used up."

W(1821) N(428)
"Integration would have to be slow."

W(2571) N(1559)
"Except where a large majority of the classes were Negroes."

W(2409) N(562)
"Our white patrons might finally submit to mixed classes, but they will never send their children to school to be taught by Negro teachers."

W(6631) N(313)
"White committeemen would resign before they would elect them. We would have very few colored children in any class."

W(11,458) N(4441)
"I do not believe Negro teachers will be accepted as yet. This conclusion is based upon what has happened in the North and West."

W(3330) N(2681)
"We do not believe that white children will accept Negro teachers yet. The problem of discipline will be bad."

W(1926) N(533)
"White patrons would not send children to school."

W(2125) N(15) I(113)
"Only one colored teacher in the county."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"I do not believe that white parents will allow Negro teachers to teach their children."

W(3137) N(2210)
"The few parents who might agree to integration would oppose Negro teachers teaching their children."

W(7175) N(6915)
"When public opinion accepts integration of pupils it will probably accept some good Negro teachers in mixed classes."

W(9335) N(1587)
"I don't believe white parents would agree to have their children taught by Negro teachers."

W(8331) N(4023)
"This is one choice the public would demand."

W(5542) N(3469)
"Answer based upon comments made by parents."

I

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 12 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

> "In the event of immediate integration of your public schools, would you have any serious difficulties in securing a sufficient number of properly trained white school teachers to teach in mixed schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(3669)
"No; that is, any more than we are already having."

W(14,452) N(2475)
"This is my present opinion. I could be wrong."

W(1051) N(441)
"Most teachers work for a living and because of the satisfaction from a job well done, we think they would continue to teach."

W(6211) N(1837)
"We could get teachers. Camp ..... Marine wives would be available."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Applications from older teachers and former teachers now married in community this past year were much more numerous than open positions. This source would be explored in event of the above."

W(2905) N(798)
"It would be little if any more difficult than now. Unfortunately too many of our teachers teach of necessity for this reason mixed classes will not matter. For those who teach from choice because they like children and have chosen teaching as an avenue for civic service the color of the child will make no difference."

W(4068) N(27)
"Only one school would have Negro children in it. Teachers that objected to teaching them could be used in the other schools."

W(7416) N(148)
"The answer is no because in this unit the number of Negro teachers is not appreciable. It is qualified in that we have difficulty in finding white teachers any way."

W(1550) N(107)
"We have at present only four Negro teachers out of fifty-four."

W(999) N(1062)
"At present we have difficulty in securing enough properly trained white teachers to teach in our all white schools, but a Negro high school principal told me that integration of the races would be another Pearl Harbor. He says that many white teachers would return to the schools rather than see

Negro teachers teach their children. I believe he is right. If so, we could find a supply of white teachers."

W(3388) N(329)
"I have a few white teachers who have expressed to me their willingness to teach a mixed group if absolutely necessary but I have many teachers who now say that they will leave the profession if they have to teach Negro children."

W(1270) N(1090)
"We get an unusual number of applications for teaching in ..... at present. I can't say what the situation would be if the schools were mixed."

J

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 12 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "In the event of immediate integration of your public schools, would you have any serious difficulties in securing a sufficient number of properly trained white school teachers to teach in mixed schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(2256) N(1506)
"Negro teachers for white children will not find acceptance in areas with considerable Negro population. The legislatures will be likely to reduce requirements so that more white teachers will become available. Also, as the need becomes acute, salaries will rise, thus bringing many newcomers into the profession. So white teachers will shortly be available."

W(1523) N(1455)
"A number of qualified white persons have indicated they

would come back into the profession, yet we do not have enough of such to replace all Negro teachers."

W(3534) N(646)
"Our local white teachers, of long experience and influence, have expressed a feeling to resign if this should happen."

W(9619) N(7122)
"We could probably secure teachers because the city pays a good supplement. We cannot now secure enough good white teachers to fill our vacancies."

W(2262) N(1835)
"Some of the white teachers have told me they will quit teaching if forced to teach Negroes."

W(2796) N(782)
"Many of the white teachers now teaching would stop if they had to teach colored children."

W(3281) N(811)
"My opinion is that many of our white teachers would resign. Since we already have a shortage, this could create a very bad situation."

W(6724) N(1827)
"It is all that we can do to secure qualified white teachers for white children now."

W(1490) N(1784)
"We have serious difficulties as it is."

W(545) N(652)
"White teachers not available."

W(4427) N(26)
"Already a problem, it would be intensified by integration. I have heard teachers remark that if and when integration came they would leave the teaching profession."

W(1795) N(194)
"I have white vacancies *now*, in white schools and no qualified white teachers available. The above would overload further."

W(3256) N(1455)
"A large percentage would drop out. A large number is married and do not have to teach for a living—they would drop out of the profession."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"We have great difficulty in securing enough white teachers for the white schools. There is a surplus of Negro teachers in this area. We employ the best of the latter. Most of them are not strong teachers."

W(2398) N(875)
"I do not think any white teacher would go to Negro schools (at present Negro). I think they would, most of them, teach in the present schools even with integrated classes."

W(1132) N(118)
"A serious shortage of white teachers already exists and some now teaching will leave the profession rather than teach in mixed schools."

W(3295) N(1900)
"The present supply of adequately trained white teachers is insufficient to teach the white children in the presently segregated schools. The additional white teachers that would be needed for mixed classes are not currently available."

W(7118) N(5259)
"If these were formerly all white schools and the proportion of Negro pupils relatively low, perhaps not. If they were formerly Negro schools, I do not believe white teachers would teach in them at all."

W(5120) N(1683)
"Many white teachers would refuse to teach Negro children.

This condition added to the present shortage of white teachers would create a very serious situation."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"If immediate integration is effected in our public schools the loss of white teachers and the refusal of the people to allow Negro teachers to serve as instructional personnel would close the schools entirely."

W(4548) N(916)
"We have 30 Negro and 156 white teachers. Our difficulty at present is securing white teachers from the limited supply."

W(2603) N(7753)
"There is at present a severe shortage of properly trained white teachers. I believe that many of those now teaching would discontinue teaching and that many who may be preparing to teach would not enter the profession."

W(17,926) N(7,984)
"Cannot keep vacancies filled now. Anything that makes teaching less desirable will be disastrous."

W(1878)
"Perhaps 20% of our teachers have indicated they would resign from the profession."

W(3885) N(74)
"At the present time it is difficult to secure a sufficient number of trained white teachers for the white schools and it would be even more difficult to secure white teachers for mixed schools."

W(1937) N(928)
"Can't find sufficient number of properly trained white teachers as it is now."

W(3494) N(4163)
"I do not think that it would be possible to find a sufficient

number of white teachers. I am sure that the husbands of many of the married teachers would make them stop if colored children were placed under them. I have heard many white teachers state that they would not attempt to teach a class of mixed races."

W(1755) N(1030)
"Some teachers have expressed themselves to the effect that they would leave the profession."

W(2460) N(2597)
"We can not get enough for the white schools now so I can not see where the extra teachers are coming from to teach an integrated room."

W(9127) N(257)
"Some teachers would accept it, but for many years to come many of the teachers would not. We have many teachers who do not have to teach. They are married and do not have to teach for the money. They are doing it for love of the work and profession. They would stop immediately. Right now we are short five teachers and many are just filling in. We would have a real problem."

W(1987) N(1303)
"We believe that 20% of our white teachers would leave."

W(2297) N(397)
"It is now difficult to secure properly trained teachers for strictly white schools."

W(9783) N(2305)
"We do not have sufficient number of properly trained white teachers to teach in the white schools now."

W(3228) N(2515)
"Some white teachers would drop out of teaching in public schools and go to private schools; it would doubtless be in-

creasingly more difficult to persuade young people to prepare to teach."

W(1139) N(750)
"I find it difficult to find teachers (white) now. Many of them will seek other employment if integration comes."

W(9983) N(4822)
"(a) The salary schedule does not attract teachers.
(b) They have too many other attractive fields to choose.
(c) It is the popular fad—inspired by communistic and anti-public education and religious groups—to harass and annoy teachers.
(d) Teacher certification prevents the use of many college graduates who did not take the required 'education' courses.
(e) The out-of-State teacher who would enter our State has difficulty qualifying in North Carolina."

W(1408) N(2212)
"We have trouble getting properly trained white teachers to teach in all white schools at the present. It would be an impossibility to staff the whole system with white teachers who were properly trained. It might be possible to staff the schools with white people, who are not teachers. I do not know."

W(2577) N(148)
"I am crossing my bridges only as I come to them. I have not discussed this with any of my teachers, because I believe the least said the better. My guess is that no teacher wants to have a mixed group."

W(696) N(157)
"This is purely my personal opinion. This small school system has been more fortunate in relation to teachers than many systems, particularly rural areas. However, I have now some very competent teachers who would likely quit teaching rather than teach mixed classes."

W(6487) N(2276)
"Our Negro and white principals have been meeting jointly for years, and it seems to work very well, but our Negro and white teachers do not mix as well. I doubt that our white teachers would accept Negro childen in their classrooms at this time."

W(4165) N(3107)
"The answer 'yes,' based on the present teacher certification requirements. There is reason to believe that a modification of the requirements would relieve this situation to some extent."

W(1778) N(619)
"At the present time, the white teachers would not teach Negro children."

W(2795) N(1111)
"The 'yes' answer is my opinion for immediate integration; time and gradual adjustment might improve this difficult situation."

W(3901) N(777)
"Scarcity of competent white teachers."

W(1571) N(2236)
"Not available now."

W(638) N(721)
"To the same extent that we have difficulty in securing sufficient number now."

W(1835) N(—) I(393)
"It's hard to find qualified white teachers for all white schools. Many of our teachers would not teach in mixed schools."

W(3738) N(None)
"Such is not possible now. Injecting the racial issue and resulting tension would make it harder to secure the proper people."

W(8661) N(3624) I(91)
"Shortage now."

W(5050) N(303)
"We have difficulty now. Any pupil increase would make the problem more serious."

W(675) N(764)
"We have difficulty in getting enough for our white schools. Some whom we have persuaded to come in might refuse to teach with Negroes."

W(3250) N(1288)
"Too many of our white teachers would resign. Our young white people who might go into the teaching profession would not be interested. The Negro teachers would take over."

W(1831) N(235)
"Many white teachers would leave the field to avoid the complex problems of a social and disciplinary nature. Much chaos would naturally result and the rewards of teaching are not sufficient to keep many of our teachers on the job."

W(1787) N(1575)
"We are having difficulty securing enough properly trained white teachers now."

W(2272) N(2638)
"It would be probably impossible. Then too, I believe that many white teachers would refuse to teach mixed classes."

W(1000) N(675)
"We are all having trouble now in securing well trained white teachers. It will be much more difficult if Negro teachers are employed in white schools. As long as employment can be had elsewhere, young people will not go into the profession and most of those who now can retire will do so."

W(6468) N(4337)
"We are unable to get them for white schools now. Our

troubles would be multiplied. The source of white teachers which is very inadequate, would decrease."

W(9335) N(1587)
"1. They aren't available.
2. Some of them probably would refuse to teach mixed classes."

W(2342) N(2685)
"Unquestionably, integration of the schools would aggravate further the task of securing satisfactory teaching personnel for our schools. Some white teachers would leave the profession, affecting further the shortage of white teachers."

W(8669) N(644)
"There is at present a shortage of trained white teachers. Some of our white teachers would not teach mixed groups."

W(5284) N(All colored children in the county are transported to a consolidated school in the ..... School Unit.)
"Inasmuch as there is a shortage of qualified white teachers now, and with the prospect of withdrawals due to integration, I think the shortage would become more acute."

W(6631) N(313)
"We have difficulty now and while some of our white teachers would be willing to teach in mixed schools, some would not. It would make our present shortage more acute."

W(11,458) N(4441)
"We are having difficulty already. Integration would certainly accentuate the problem."

W(3330) N(2681)
"I feel that our present teachers, the greater part at least would accept mixed classes. To find additional teachers will be very difficult."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"I believe that it would be difficult for us to secure sufficient number of properly trained white teachers to teach in mixed schools. We have very few extra white teachers in our area from which to draw in cases of emergencies at present. Teachers will have to become more plentiful if greater demands are met."

W(1926) N(533)
"Many of present white teachers would leave the profession and it is difficult to find properly trained white teachers for white students at the present."

W(3137) N(2210)
"We are having trouble as it is, but I am sure if we had immediate integration we would not be able to secure a sufficient number of properly trained white teachers to teach in mixed schools."

W(8331) N(4023)
"We would lose those teachers now teaching to help out—also those who feel extremely bitter about the decision."

K

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 13 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

> "In the event of immediate integration, would you have any reason to believe that the mixing of the races in the public schools of your unit would create serious problems of discipline in these schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(2125) N(15) I(113)
"I say no because we have so few colored students. It could

that we would have trouble with the white students, be-
use they would resent them."

(11,458) N(4441)
'oung people are less prejudiced than adults. Any problems
e more likely to emanate from parents than from pupils."

(3669)
nswer is based on what our pupils say. However, in prac-
e, the situation could be quite different. What the reaction
uld be actually when three colored high school pupils are
rown in with 340 white is difficult to foresee. The colored
pils may not be beaten up but they would probably feel
t of place to the extent that they would drop out of school."

(1826) N(1190)
Jo, unless outside agitation caused it."

(1550) N(107)
believe our students would accept the situation once they
alize it is inevitable."

L

The quotations below are comments made by county and
y superintendents of schools in explanation of their an-
ver "Yes" to question number 13 of the questionnaire,
hich reads as follows:

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egro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city
hools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

(2432) N(1661)
Evidenced by inter-racial conflicts this year that have never
curred before."

W(3375) N(2733)
"Many of these problems can possibly be worked out on a time basis, but to be forced to go immediately into them would, in all probability, bring about difficulty of adjustment."

W(1051) N(441)
"In high schools the reaction is more noticed than in elementary schools."

W(2256) N(1506)
"(1) Fist fights daily, on class, in corridor, on campus. (2) All elections on racial lines—no Negroes will be able to win. (3) Moral tone between the two races is at a distinct variance. Morals are not a real necessity to perhaps a majority of colored race. White people do not share this point of view."

W(2262) N(1835)
"This is my honest opinion after listening to adults. Many of them are leaders in the Church and Community."

W(2796) N(782)
"If older students are integrated, there will naturally result serious disciplinary problems. Should the integration begin in the primary grades, there would not likely develop many serious disciplinary problems within the school itself."

W(3281) N(811)
"This would be true on the high school level. In the primary grades, no."

W(4427) N(26)
"It appears to me that such problems are the inevitable consequence of integration in any system."

W(6724) N(1827)
"You cannot force social relationships upon people. Normal social activities now carried on by schools, such as class dances and parties, would be impossible. Colored children would have a tendency to resent and reject control by white

teachers and white children would not accept correction from colored teachers. An accusation of unfairness would be made in most instances when it became necessary for colored children to be disciplined. If Negroes are permitted to force their way into the white schools, they will have a tendency to attempt to use the same tactics in freeing themselves of the normal controls which are necessary in schools. Such a situation is reported to exist in California and other areas where children are now mixed."

W(1795) N(194)
"Different standards of conduct?
Different standards of moral responsibility?
(If a Negro child is corrected or punished (disciplined) you are, at once on the defensive?")

W(3256) N(1455)
"The trouble would start with the parents and carry over to the students into the school."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"In sections of this county, we have difficulty between the races if the children use the same bus stops even though they they get on separate busses. Our best solution under present conditions is to have these students to congregate at separate places, and to keep them separate."

W(2398) N(875)
"Judging by what is happening elsewhere."

W(6253) N(50)
"Among the children themselves."

W(3295) N(1900)
"Immediate integration will bring some problems of discipline in the classrooms. The greater the problems of discipline will be created in the cafeterias and extra-curricular activities such as athletics, glee clubs, and physical education activities."

W(5120) N(1683)
"There would be incidents frequently which would be very difficult to handle. All activities of a recreational or social nature would be filled with incidents and very explosive. We could conduct 'classes' provided we could have enough special police officers posted at the right places to keep order before and after school and at recesses. Every school of 300 would require at least two such officers."

W(420) N(333)
"We would have serious trouble."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"I think the matter of guiding public reaction and maintaining order or affecting discipline would be impossible and I believe in all sincerity that chaos would engulf our school district."

W(2812) N(1868)
"Definitely!"

W(4548) N(916)
"Definitely—disciplinary problems would increase."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"Hazing and 'ganging up' on the unwanted will be at a maximum in my judgment."

W(1878)
"Discipline problems would be numerous in the elementary schools, possibly not many problems at the high school level. Our high school pupils are well conditioned in discipline."

W(1937) N(928)
"I am afraid that fighting and rioting would get out of hand."

W(3885) N(74)
"It would be practically impossible to secure the cooperation

of the parents in the matter of maintaining discipline should there be immediate integration."

W(9783) N(2305)
"The pattern of strikes by students in other states would be followed in this area."

W(2297) N(397)
"I do not believe that white children would immediately accept integration without serious objection. However, I believe that children would come nearer doing so than adults."

W(9127) N(257)
"In time this could be overcome, probably. But from all evidence now, I can see serious problems arising from the angle of white and colored. Both would create problems for each race."

W(2460) N(2597)
"I am satisfied that the large boys and their parents would resort to violence."

W(3494) N(4163)
"Both races would be at a disadvantage. I think there could be no extra-curricular activities except possibly in athletics, and I doubt it even here. Perhaps the many athletic contests viewed by visitors to all sorts of contests where Negroes are playing and seeing so many Negroes on TV in baseball, basketball, football, and boxing might cause the impact to be less in athletics. All class plays, banquets, dances, and activities of this nature would be suspended."

W(4224) N(66)
"This would be an influence from the homes which would be rather difficult to cope with."

W(5928) N(777)
"Particularly in the high schools."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Comments and even threats support the above answer."

W(3270) N(409)
"The problems would be much more serious than the numbers involved would indicate."

W(1130) N(811)
"This would be one of our most serious problems."

W(2577) N(148)
"How serious I do not know, but it certainly would create some problems of discipline."

W(696) N(157)
"I have no doubt but that discipline problems would arise. Many of the objections to integration are based on deep feeling not just spur-of-the-moment behavior. Some students would come to school, if compelled to attend, with the intention of making trouble and with the tacit encouragement of parents."

W(6487) N(2276)
"There continues to be considerable antagonism between teen-agers of the two races. I doubt if this can be attached to either race. It seems to be largely a mutual feeling."

W(4165) N(3107)
"It would mean the elimination of most of the school sponsored social activities that are now carried on in the schools of both races. These activities are important factors in building and maintaining pupil morale and school spirit."

W(1778) N(819)
"Riots."

W(3228) N(2515)
"Serious problems would arise in all grades, particularly on

the high school level. Adult prejudice would perhaps be the greatest factor."

W(9983) N(4822)
"(a) Sexually the Negro race develops much earlier than the white race. Court records of recent weeks show Negro 6, 7 and 8 years olds guilty of sex offences. This situation would 'blow the top' off the lid when the white parents learned of the difference in standards of sex behavior.
(b) The over-age Negroes are easy victims of dope vendors, et cetera because they crave money to keep up with the white boys. Northern Superintendents tell us this is a major problem in mixed schools. We may expect the racketeer to move in as he has in northern mixed schools.
(c) The white pupil of low mentality, on par with the Negro, would most violently resent being classified with him in classes. The result would be obvious to any Principal."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)
"I was a teacher and principal for 19 years. I do not believe that there was a day of those 19 years that, at least, 2 little boys didn't get in a fight. If the races are integrated, the boys will fight, not because one was white and one was black, but because they were little boys. Each would go home and tell about the fight. Then the fathers would go hunting for one another, and your race riots would start."

W(2795) N(1111)
"I believe that prejudices that are stronger among adults than among children would seriously interfere with the school program. In addition, parents whose minds are open would be seriously concerned by the possibility of controversy, disturbances, enforcement of the strict discipline that would be necessary, and by the possibility of physical injury to children through internal or external agitation."

W(3901) N(777)
"Although for years the relations between races have greatly improved and is continuing to improve gradually, and forced

mixing would seriously interfere with the improving relations between races. Good folks get along all right with good folks regardless of color; forcing a mixture of races in or out of schools simply gives opportunity for the wrong people regardless of race to make trouble."

W(1675) N(675)
"They have never before been together in any form of activities. Therefore, they are not prepared for such a thing. There will be trouble where it is begun."

W(6468) N(4337)
"I am sure it would be impossible to maintain discipline. Several of our principals who can earn a living doing something else have stated they would not undertake it. They would resign and leave it for others to attempt. These are our best and most capable principals."

W(3807) N(2236)
"Due to strength of both groups, race hatred and bitterness would soon develop."

W(638) N(721)
"Fights, cuttings, mob action would employ all of our time. Our Negroes do not want to come to white schools and the whites aren't going to have them."

W(1835) N(None)
"A great many of our parents are determined that their white children will not attend mixed schools."

W(8661) N(3624) I(91)
"Best example is where it is now being tried."

W(999) N(1062)
"What is now happening in the Northern and border States would be multiplied in Eastern North Carolina."

W(3388) N(329)
"The children in all probability would behave in their rela-

tionship to other children in the way they were instructed at home. Ordinary problems of discipline in the schools could be taken care of without too much trouble. The new type problems of discipline would be something that we would have no experience as a precedent in coping with."

W(1270) N(1090)
"My answer is based on my knowledge of and experience with high school boys and girls."

W(675) N(764)
"The maturity and achievement level, in general, are so different that integration would be difficult. There is some friction from 'advanced' pupils being in the same grade with all members of the same race."

W(3250) N(1288)
"In all the grades, both elementary and high school, there would be bedlam! Moral and immoral together would make a poor combination. The immoral generally win out. In the first place, the white people in ..... County will not send their children to a mixed school."

W(2272) N(2638)
"Prejudice of races in patrons, pupils and teachers would, in my opinion, make the problem of discipline unbearable."

W(13,996) N(1604)
"In some areas."

W(8669) N(644)
"Most of the trouble would come from the influence of the parents on the students."

W(6631) N(313)
"Neither race wants it and when people of either color are forced into a situation they resent, trouble usually follows."

W(3330) N(2681)
"In the following areas:
1. Lunchrooms
2. Toilets
3. Social contacts"

W(1926) N(533)
"Not in the lower grades but there would be disciplinary problems in upper grades due to adult influence."

W(2629) N(953)
"Perhaps gradual integration could be worked without serious problems of discipline, however, immediate integration would thrust upon both races a new world for which they are totally unprepared."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"It is my opinion that it will be many years before children of mixed races will be able to attend school under the same roof peaceably."

W(3137) N(2210)
"When the white child is punished, I am afraid in many cases the friends and relatives will take the law in their own hands. When the Negro child is punished, and it is believed to be wrong, the relatives and friends will appeal to the courts on the grounds of discrimination."

W(2342) N(2685)
"54% of ..... school children are Negro, 46% white. Mixing of the races in schools would present serious problems in the area of school management. Assignment of children geographically, irrespective of race, would leave white in the minority in some school situations. Prejudice and hostility would be engendered on both sides."

W(14,452) N(2475)
"It would certainly cause problems. Their seriousness is hard to forecast."

W(5542) N(3469)
"It is believed that Negro children will not be accepted in a friendly way by white people."

W(8331) N(4023)
"Especially in High School."

M

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 14 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

> "Would such an integrated program seriously affect the extra-curricular activites in the school in your administrative unit?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(7416) N(148)
"This is a qualified 'no' and the reason is due to the small number of children."

W(2577) N(148)
"Not seriously, because only a very small number of Negro children would be involved. Possibly 15 Negro children in a school of 400. Zoning as we now practice it for white children would keep them from entering any other school."

W(2905) N(798)
"Negro children would probably be given or have less opportunity for participation especially for positions of leadership "

W(6253) N(50)
"Not enough involved to affect this item seriously."

W(11,458) N(4441)
"Only social functions would be materially affected. We

have few of those. The ones we have would have to be eliminated or modified."

W(3330) N(2681)
"We have few 'extra' activities. Possibly the athletic team might give some difficulty."

W(1926) N(533)
"Not unless strict integration is imposed initially."

N

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> "Would such an integrated program seriously affect the extra-curricular activities in the schools in your administrative unit?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(6724) N(1827)
"There are many people who would accept the mixing of children in school classes who would not accept under any circumstances the mixing of children where 'sex,' marriage, and boy-girl relationships are involved. The mixing of children would be a divisive force among students and would cause disruption of any extra-curricular activities."

W(4427) N(26)
"Again, answer applies primarily to the one school seriously affected. In the area of inter-school athletics, this problem could be troublesome in all schools."

W(2796) N(782)
"Social activities such as junior-senior dances would be seri-

ously affected and would likely be dropped as school-sponsored activities. Athletics and sports will probably work out all right."

W(2262) N(1835)
"I do not believe that the high school white youth will mix with Negroes (at least not yet)."

W(1051) N(441)
"Mostly in high school. In music and athletics, it would help the extra-curricular program. Clubs and social activities would create a problem."

W(2301) N(1702)
"In an integrated program, all extra-curricular programs would have to be eliminated."

W(1523) N(1455)
"Social functions, probably athletic programs, class activities, would have to be curtailed or completely eliminated."

W(3534) N(646)
"We would be forced to eliminate all socials to avoid violence. It is doubtful of the continuance of athletics for sometime."

W(9619) N(7122)
"Many extra-curricular activities sponsored by the schools are of a social nature and controlling these would present some serious problems. It will be difficult to control integration in the classrooms and shops, to say nothing of the extra-curricular program."

W(1132) N(118)
"In about the same degree as it would affect all other school activities."

W(3295) N(1900)
"White people in our area are nearly unanimous in their desire to maintain racial integrity, socially and biologically. If

there is immediate integration, such extra-curricular activities as dramatics, so-called 'Junior class plays and Senior class plays' in high schools, and Junior-Senior class banquets will have to be abolished. Athletics might survive."

W(6253) N(50)
"Not enough involved to seriously affect in this item."

W(2398) N(875)
"This would require complete revision."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"If an attempt is made to force integration, and any degree of success is achieved, I believe that all extra-curricular activities would be abolished since there would be no participation without force on the part of white students."

W(4711) N(1455)
"Extra curricular would come to a standstill and be abandoned."

W(1795) N(194)
"What about school parties, dances, etc.? Athletics (dressing rooms, toilets), Glee Club, Band (uniforms), Trips, (buses), School Plays?"

W(1878)
"Except in the field of athletics. Integration would not work at their banquets and proms."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"We make much of our home room, club and class social activities. With both races in the school these social activities will be at a minimum or not exist."

W(2603) N(7753)
"For the same reasons that there would be serious discipline problems."

W(4548) N(916)
"This would probably be affected to a lesser degree than any other phase of school life, yet it would create unnecessary problems."

W(2812) N(1868)
"Yes, I think such activities would have to be curtailed or discontinued."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"Not only would such an integrated program seriously affect the extra-curricular activities, but it would dissolve the program of extra-curricular activities and at the same time deactivate what is commonly known as the public schools and all of the educative processes that are characteristic at the present time of this school district."

W(7118) N(5259)
"It would completely eliminate most social functions."

W(5120) N(1683)
"Extra-curricular activities would have to be abolished where there are Negroes in large numbers. It is the 'social element' involved in extra-curricular activities which would be so explosive. The old southern family proverb, 'You can work with them, but you can't play with them,' applies here."

W(4224) N(66)
"Both races would be at a disadvantage. I think there could be no extra-curricular activities, except possibly in athletics, and I doubt it even here. Perhaps the many athletic contests viewed by visitors to all sorts of contests where Negroes are playing and seeing so many Negroes on TV in baseball, basketball, football and boxing might cause the impact to be less in athletics. All class plays, banquets, dances, and activities of this nature would be suspended."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Objections have already been made to this phase of the pro-

gram. In fact, the prospect of any social integration is alarming to white patrons of our communities."

W(6211) N(1837)
"Markedly so. Would eliminate extra-curricular activities and social aspects of high school program—at least for some years. This is the opinion of principals."

W(1987) N(1303)
"It is our belief that all extra-curricular activities would have to close."

W(9127) N(257)
"We have never seen discrimination such as would exist if they were put together. The few colored children would not get a chance."

W(2460) N(2597)
"I believe pupils would have to understand each other fairly well to work on any of the extra-curricular activities. This means understanding each other socially. Not many of our older pupils could do this."

W(3885) N(74)
"At the present time the Negro students participate in extra-curricular activities in their own school. Should they attend a mixed school, the white children, in all probability, would not accept the Negro children as participants in extra-curricular activity."

W(9783) N(2305)
"Considerable difficulty would follow in the social activities, athletic program and other extra-curricular activities."

W(1937) N(928)
"Whites will not mix socially with Negroes."

W(5928) N(777)
"Negroes would not be chosen to participate in extra-curricular activities."

W(1139) N(750)
"Dances, Proms, Banquets, etc., would be discontinued by our schools. Parents would demand this be done."

W(1130) N(811)
"Extra-curricular activities would be hampered even more than co-curricular activities."

W(696) N(157)
"Extra-curricular activities are often social in nature, and even those whites who would not object to being in a formal class with Negroes are not willing to enter into any social situations with them. In fact, they have no intention of doing so."

W(6487) N(2276)
"Integration would terminate some extra-curricular activities, particularly those of a social nature. There exists considerable anxiety on the part of parents of white girls about their safety and welfare."

W(4165) N(3107)
"The difficulty of supervision would lead to the elimination of many activities and the curtailment of others."

W(3228) N(2515)
"The school could not sponsor social activites, including folk dancing and similar activities. Junior-Senior banquets and school dances would have to be abolished."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)
"Everything other than the baccalaureate and graduation exercises would have to be discontinued. Bus trips to Washington, Raleigh, Chapel Hill, Durham, to any college, Jr.-Sr. Banquet, Jr.-Sr. Prom, Junior or Senior Play, any dance, class picnic or party in fact, anything even bordering on the social would have to be cut out."

W(2795) N(1111)
"The many phases of a good extra-curriculum program in-

clude social, cultural, personal, and small-group activities. A radical and sudden change in the pattern would make it difficult to administer effectively most, if not all, extra-curricular activities, in my opinion."

W(3901) N(777)
"In athletics some occasional trouble would arise. In all other group activities an integrated program would encounter trouble whether in day or night time."

W(9983) N(4822)
"(a) The choice would be, racial amalgamation or no social activities.
(b) The Negroes' earlier physical development would give him a great advantage in athletics to the detriment of the white pupil.
(c) The racial characteristics of Negro music would be submerged and rendered less attractive in mixed groups, as happens in the north.
(d) Clubs, societies and travel groups would have to accept the Negro or the Negro would lose all that they now have of their own in agencies to develop leadership and self confidence. Now all Negro high school organizations have Negro leaders, (and they are excellent). The cases of leadership would be rare if amalgamation were attempted.
(e) Class meetings in homes of parents would be difficult to arrange."

W(1835) N(None) I(393)
"In a social way."

W(1571) N(2236)
"Race hatred and bitterness would soon develop."

W(6468) N(4337)
"It would not only seriously affect extra-curricular activities, it would bring an end to such activities. We would not be foolish enough to have a mixed audience of white and Negro parents to observe such an activity. Our graduation exercises

would be simply to hand the diploma to seniors on the last day of school and wish them well. A class party or dance would be out of the question. It would bring an end to all extra-curricular activities."

W(1000) N(675)
"All social activities of our schools would have to be discontinued."

W(2272) N(2638)
"I think it would affect the extra-curricular activities due to their nature, more than it would the regular curriculum. I believe that with integration it would be necessary to curtail greatly all extra-curricular activities."

W(3250) N(1288)
"In the Negro schools as they are now, leaders are selected and have a chance to lead. In a mixed school, these chances would fade out of the picture. They would be losing the chances they now have. This would seriously injure the Negro children and hamper the chances of all others."

W(675) N(764)
"They would probably be abolished since white pupils would refuse to participate, with rare exception. Actually, there would likely be no white pupils, or few, in the 'mixed' school."

W(1270) N(1090)
"Many of the extra curricula activities are social in nature. We would have to eliminate many of the activities as they are now."

W(3388) N(329)
"Actually this is what our people are concerned about. It is the extra-curricular, especially social activities in our schools that the parents are concerned about. What about your Junior-Senior proms? What about your football-basketball coca-cola parties? How would you handle your junior-senior ban-

quets? How about cafeteria and lunchroom situations? This breaking down of the racial and social barriers and throwing the children together in intimate social and personal contact will lead to love and affection with inter-marriage. Then you have what Hitler said, 'A Mongrel Race'."

W(999) N(1062)
"It might not in the purely academic activities but it would in all of the social activities. Our people are not ready to accept mixed parties, dances, and other social activities."

W(1550) N(107)
"In the extra-curricular activities, music, athletics, and dramatics, there would be contact with the general public where controls are much more difficult than in regular classroom activity."

W(1787) N(1575)
"It would be most difficult to have any type of extra-curricular activities."

W(2342) N(2685)
"Integration of the races would require many changes in existing school organization, including the entire program of pupil activities."

W(9335) N(1587)
"I think the danger of real trouble would be greatest in what we consider the social phase of school life."

W(3137) N(2210)
"Extra-curricular activities are different. Individual differences would increase. In many instances, I believe the white children would refuse to accept the Negro children unless *force* was applied."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"If children of different races attend the same school, I believe that many problems dealing with extra curricular activi-

ties will be increased. It will take an extensive educational program and much time before Negro and white children will be able to carry on school activities in mixed groups."

W(2409) N(562)
"We consider this one of the most difficult problems, with the most serious results, that we would have to face."

W(8669) N(644)
"It would definitely curtail all student activity that is based on voluntary student participation."

W(13,996) N(1604)
"All social events will be called off."

W(8331) N(4023)
"Would eliminate all social activities."

O

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 15 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

> "Would, in your opinion, such immediate integration of the races cause parents in large numbers to withdraw their children from such schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(2373) N(4419)
"Not permanently."

W(1132) N(118)
"Not in large numbers, but some would do so."

W(1878)
"Not in *large* numbers, but there would be several."

W(9783) N(2305)
"It is not believed that large numbers would withdraw but there would be some withdrawal of children who would be sent to private schools."

W(11,458) N(4441)
"I think there would be little withdrawal from the local schools. I anticipate that a number of people would request transfers where a sizeable percentage of Negro pupils has been enrolled."

W(2571) N(1559)
"We could anticipate a temporary withdrawal but absence of other school facilities would probably force the return of pupils to public schools."

W(3330) N(2681)
"They might for a few days or weeks. There is no place for many of them to go. Eventually they would return."

W(2629) N(953)
"I am quite certain that some parents would withdraw their children from mixed schools. I do not feel at the present time that the number would be large."

W(2795) N(1111)
"My 'no' answer is based on the small number and capacity of private schools in North Carolina where the public schools have been and are effective and upon the cost of instruction in private schools. I believe many parents would eventually make the change, withdrawing children from public schools as quickly as conditions would permit."

P

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 15 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

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The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(3494) N(4163)
"From what is now happening in Washington, D. C., Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, and West Virginia, I am sure that the parents in ..... County would not for a moment accept integration."

W(6211) N(1837)
"I believe that most parents would send their children to school, since they would have little alternative to do otherwise."

W(1755) N(1030)
"Many white parents have expressed themselves."

W(2460) N(2597)
"Our people are not prepared to accept integrated schools. I am curious to know how we can prepare them."

W(9127) N(257)
"In some schools. Take ..... for instance. This school covers a large area of the mountain section of our county. They are looking for an excuse to keep their children out, and do. Many would stay out. I have already been told in no uncertain terms that when Negro children come in the whites will go out."

W(2774) N(3036)
"We cannot anticipate the duration of the withdrawals, but it would require strict force to compel attendance."

W(1826) N(1190)
"Yes, if immediate. No, if gradual."

W(2297) N(397)
"Not in large numbers. Most parents would have no choice if their children are to attend school anywhere."

W(3885) N(74)
"Parents in large numbers are strongly opposed to the Integration to the public schools."

W(2301) N(1702)
"Parents have told me that they will start private tuition schools if the integration program is carried out now."

W(2262) N(1835)
"Several ..... Club members—good, solid, substantial citizens—have told me that they would pay *any price* to send their children to all-white private schools."

W(2796) N(782)
"Many who could afford it would send their children to private schools."

W(6724) N(1827)
"Sufficient evidence is coming to us from 'fringe' areas such as Delaware to indicate that parents would protest and withdraw their children from schools. If there are protests there, there could be violence in the deep south."

W(3281) N(811)
"This would happen at first, but later the children would return."

W(2398) N(875)
"Most would not stay away long. Those who could would send their children to private schools."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"I cannot conceive of there being enough law enforcement in this county to make the majority of the people send their children to integrated schools. Most of them will stop school

As many as can will either move their place of residence or send their children away from home to private schools."

W(3256) N(1455)
"Parents would withdraw their children from school."

W(1795) N(194)
"Financial ability considered—would either send to private school or take them out of school to avoid possible trouble or violence?"

W(420) N(333)
"A large number have voiced the opinion that they would send the children to private schools."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"Even the attempt at integration in the parochial schools in ..... has had that effect."

W(2703) N(7753)
"I have heard many people make this statement."

W(4548) N(916)
"They would move to those sections where there is no Negro population."

W(9983) N(4822)
"(a) In the north, few parents who can afford the cost of private schools send their children to mixed schools, if the percentage of Negroes is appreciable. Note: Please name a northern school system that has an acceptable or tolerable plan of mixed schools.
(b) Parents who are able move away from districts with mixed schools.
(c) Religious and private groups are already preparing space to take care of a major exodus from the public schools.
(d) Many parents are making plans for private school education for their children in case the integration takes place.

This would cause a social caste system that would be most un-democratic."

W(3901) N(777)
"Rural and textile people will not readily integrate; and urban people will not too readily do so. Most people regardless of race are pleased with present segregation basis."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)
"Parents of both races would refuse to send their children to mixed schools. Quite a number of Negro parents in ..... County have stated that they would not send their children for fear of trouble."

W(3228) N(2515)
"It would probably lead to rapid growth of private schools."

W(4165) N(3107)
"Many parents who are financially able would send their children to private schools. This would mean the loss of the support for public education of a rather influential group of our citizens."

W(6487) N(2276)
"I have heard many parents say they would enroll their children in private schools, if possible, before they would allow them to attend classes in which there were Negro children."

W(638) N(721)
"If physical violence would not predominate and prevent integration previously."

W(1550) N(107)
"The issue might be used for a while as an excuse for a few who would just as soon their children stay at home. We have few families who could or would try to send their children to private schools."

W(999) N(1062)
"A number of parents have already told me that they will send their children to a private school if non-segregation ever becomes a fact in the public schools. This would be a serious blow to public school morale if the well-to-do send their children to all white schools and the poorer classes have to send their children to non-segregated schools."

W(3388) N(329)
"The parents in withdrawing their children from school would not necessarily send them to another school. There would be a vast number who would take advantage of our unsettled situation to keep them out of school, thereby carrying out a latent wish always held by them. There are a few parents, not over 10% who would try to get their children into private or parochial schools. In our part of the country we do have Missouri Lutheran church schools."

W(3259) N(1288)
"The wealthy or those who could afford to do so would send their children to private schools. The poor whites would be at a great disadvantage. This would cause us to have the high grade and the low grade among the whites. India has enough of the caste system. We need to avoid this."

W(2272) N(2638)
"The reactions in West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and the District of Columbia are only minor compared to the withdrawal of children from school by parents that would take place here."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"Statements by political and community leaders have indicated that there might be two elements of our population who would not withdraw their children from schools; these being, namely; the less fortunate whites and low-moral Negroes. My personal opinion is that our system of public schools would be destroyed and only those referred to above would attend school for the novelty created, and as soon as

this became old to them, they would revert to their present mode of living where the attendance laws have to be constantly exercised at the present time."

W(7118) N(5259)
"The number would depend upon other facilities available. Some would perhaps withdraw them in the absence of any facilities unless forced by law to send them."

W(5120) N(1683)
"Nearly all parents of white children would withdraw their children from school at first, but some would later allow their children to attend with reluctance. The attendance laws could not be enforced. There would be demand for abolishing all compulsory school attendance laws. There would be agitation for reduced school appropriations and probably complete abolition of the public school system."

W(3270) N(409)
"I would consider 100 or more children to be large numbers."

W(1000) N(675)
"Private classes will be organized with some of our older and better teachers leaving the public schools for this type of work."

W(6468) N(4337)
"Poorly equipped private schools with poorly trained teachers would be the result. Our schools would lose the gains of forty years within a year. Some of our churches are now planning to establish private schools. The families with above average income would attend those. The children of the poor would attend no school at all."

W(1571) N(2236)
"Remarks by parents in recent conversations."

W(1835) N(None) I(393)
"In our district we already have one first to eighth grade

parochial school. If immediate integration is ordered, we will have many, many more children to attend these church schools."

W(1821) N(428)
"Only a few."

W(696) N(157)
"Even the large element of our ..... population which come here from Northern states would likely enter their children in private schools. There have been some meetings already in this area to consider forming a private school here. Some of those who have publicly endorsed integration in the name of 'equal rights,' etc., attended such a meeting. Some of my teachers were invited."

W(1130) N(811)
"They would either withdraw children or refuse to allow Negro children in now-all-white-schools."

W(1139) N(750)
"Feeling here, with our large percentage of Negroes, is bound to be greater than that displayed in Delaware, Baltimore, and Washington. Private schools would get some of our children from wealthier families. Others would boycott the schools."

W(2577) N(148)
"Some parents would withdraw their children and send them to another school or even move to another part of town."

W(7416) N(148)
"This might depend to some degree on the reaction in other localities."

W(4194) N(3378)
"We have had several parents who have said in the event of integration of the races that they would withdraw their children from public schools and send them to private schools.

Many of the white parents have said that they would do all in their power to prevent the mixing of the races."

W(2125) N(15) I(113)
"Many parents have stated that they will refuse to allow their children to attend school with the colored people."

W(8669) N(644)
"To attend private schools and other public schools that would not have any Negroes. (Some of our elementary school districts do not have any Negroes living in them.)

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"I have talked with many parents relative to the problems connected with integration of races in our public schools. I have not met the first parent that is willing to send his child to any school where other than white children are present. I am confident that our white patrons would withdraw their children from our schools."

W(3137) N(2210)
"As stated before, I believe the white children would walk out and it would take force to make them attend."

W(9335) N(1587)
"I've heard some say that."

W(15,551) N(410)
"It is my opinion that the enrollment in private schools would increase rapidly."

W(1926) N(533)
"All parents financially able to do so will send children to private schools. Many parents will have to be forced to send their children to school."

W(6631) N(313)
"Many will withdraw their children from such schools and organize private schools where they are able to finance it. Others will keep them at home."

W(8112) N(2177)
"One private school has already begun operation."

W(8331) N(4023)
"Some would send to private schools others would use the issue as a basis for non-attendance."

W(5542) N(3469)
"I cannot predict what will happen."

Q

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 16 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "Is there such difference in the average attainments between white and Negro children as to seriously impair instruction in mixed schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(3168) N(3059)
"Equal school plant facilities will provide equal instructional program."

W(3901) N(777)
"I do not believe that ability of pupils in either race would have much influence in either segregating or not segregating."

W(3669)
"The small number of colored children to be absorbed would make little difference."

W(6253) N(50)
"Not enough affected."

W(2460) N(2597)
"I do not know how to answer. There is not as much difference as the white people think there is."

W(9127) N(257)
"I don't think so."

W(1826) N(1190)
"The range of achievement and intelligence may be some greater, but this would be no great handicap."

W(2297) N(397)
"The average attainment is somewhat lower in our Negro schools, but there is a wide variation in any grade and we have learned somewhat to teach pupils on their own level."

W(11,458) N(4441)
"The average is only about one to two grades. The spread in any regular grade is much greater than that."

W(2125) N(15) I(113)
"Our one colored teacher is a very fine teacher. Her pupils compare favorably with the white children, who have about the same opportunities."

W(8669) N(644)
"There is not as much difference in this county as in many others due to the fact that the Negro child in this county has had better educational opportunities than many of our white children. The average intelligence of our Negroes is above that of many other sections."

R

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 16 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

"Is there such difference in the average attainments be-

tween white and Negro children as to seriously impair instruction in mixed schools?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(2256) N(1506)
"We feel that Negro children are almost two grades behind white children; that is, the Negro 10th grader could not do the work of the white 9th grade and would have to be sent to the 8th."

W(3375) N(2733)
"The educational background of children has a tremendous influence on the level of the attainment in the various grades in any school system. The average educational level of Negro parents and homes is far below that of whites. That would have a tendency in the average case to set up serious difficulties of attainment at the various grade levels."

W(5074) N(1287)
"We have records covering 18 years and they show considerable difference. Our achievement records show Negro children are over 2 years behind whites by the time they reach 8th grade. These are continuous records—given and kept by trained testing persons."

W(4427) N(26)
"This question is debatable, but there is some evidence to the effect that average attainment differs between the races."

W(1523) N(1455)
"According to standard tests, the white children will average two years above the Negro children in achievement."

W(3534) N(646)
"Achievement scores of tests given to colored and white children in the 4th and 6th grades during 1953-54 showed differences as follows:

4th Grade—White children scored an average of 1.6 (nearly 2 years) higher than colored
6th Grade—White children scored an average of .9 (full year) higher than colored.
On Grade Expectancy, white children scored an average of 1.4 (1 year, 4 months) higher than colored children in the 6th grade.
In the 2nd grade, white children scored an average of .8 (nearly a year) higher than colored children."

W(2373) N(4419)
"This is one of the major problems."

W(2262) N(1835)
"Our I. Q. Test records and achievement test records show a great gulf in the *average* ability of any given Negro group as contrasted with a similar grade, or group, of white children."

W(2796) N(782)
"In general, I do not believe the degree of excellence or attainment is found in the average colored school that is expected in white schools. If mixed, children of like grades would likely range even more than they do now in the individual schools. Proper classification of students will probably bring forth cries of 'discrimination'."

W(6724) N(1827)
"We have evidence from test records that the achievement of the average colored student is about two years below the average for white children."

W(3281) N(811)
"My observation in both white and Negro schools leads me to this conclusion."

W(9619) N(7122)
"Last year, a Stanford Achievement Test was given during the 7th school month to all the white and Negro children in

the 5th and 7th grades of the city schools. The normal score for the average 5th grade child at that period in the school year should have been 5.7 (5 years and 7 months of school), and for the child in the 7th grade, 7.7. When these tests were scored and checked, we found the results indicated below:

Fifth Grade

	White	*Negro*
Median Chronological age	11 yrs. 2 mos.	11 yrs. 4 mos.
Median I. Q.	99	85
Median Achievement Level	5.8	4.6

Seventh Grade

	White	*Negro*
Median Chronological Age	13 yrs. 2 mos.	13 yrs. 4 mos.
Median I. Q.	98	85
Median Achievement Level	7.7	6.7

These test results indicate quite clearly that in these two grades the Negro children, while 2 months older than the white children in the same grade, have, on the average, lower intelligent quotients, and their grade achievement (the ability to do the work of a particular grade) is from a year (7.7 - 6.7) to a year and 2 months (5.8 - 4.6) below that of the white children of that grade."

W(1878)
"This answer is not based on observation; it is merely my own opinion."

W(2603) N(7753)
"Generally speaking, the attainment of pupils in a given grade is lower in the Negro schools than in the white schools."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"In the high schools the difference in grade level amounts, on the average, to 3-5 grades."

W(1795) N(194)
"Check the results made in ..... Tests (..... Co.). Levels of attainment at present would increase our problems? Please note—I am giving only a small number of reasons—with ques-

tion marks, as no time allotted for proofs, etc. Many more valid reasons are applicable, I am sure."

W(3256) N(1455)
"It would seriously impair instruction and achievement. The requirements for promotion in Negro schools seem to be lower than those of the whites. This being true, it would seriously retard the achievement and the level of instruction several decades.

W(13,032) N(3557)
"We have had, down through the years, evidence to show that the Negro students are two or three grades behind the white students, on a basis of objective test results. The results show that the difference is greater, the higher in the grade level, even though the selection of the Negro students in the higher grades, due to the loss from schools of those who don't succeed in school, is decidedly in favor of the Negroes. There are greater differences in experiences, background, etc. than in the subject matter field between the Negroes and whites."

W(2398) N(875)
"Standard test scores do indicate from one to two years difference."

W(8578) N(3442)
"Almost any good test given anywhere in the State would substantiate this answer."

W(3295) N(1900)
"There is a difference in cultural achievement of white and Negro children largely because of environmental background. White children as a rule at a given age have larger vocabularies and have developed more concepts which enable them to learn new subject matter more rapidly. This information is factual and has been obtained from administering objective achievement tests."

W(5707) N(1147)
"This answer based on test score given over a period of years."

W(7118) N(5259)
"The results of all standard tests which we give to both races show the average Negro pupil as two grades behind the average white pupil."

W(755) N(522)
"This reply is based upon the scores made by students on standard achievements given twice each year."

W(2812) N(1868)
"Test results and observations indicate conclusively that achievement of Negro children is below that of whites. Economic and social history have possibly been contributory factors. It is my opinion that the same comparison between white and Negro teachers would produce similar conclusions."

W(4548) N(916)
"The great majority of Negro children do not have the home background and mental ability to compete with white children of the same age. Some do have high intelligence and could compete most successfully."

W(5120) N(1683)
"Some of the Negro children could keep pace with the white children in scholastic attainment, especially those of mixed blood, but on the average, the ability of the Negro group would be much lower than the white. This would tend to accentuate the problem of maintaining a high standard of scholastic attainment."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"Not only is there a major difference in the average attainments between white and Negro children, there is a radical difference in hereditary and environmental backgrounds. The major percentage of our white people are what could be re-

ferred to as 'country gentlemen' and most have tremendous property holdings with Negroes and Indians serving as tenants and tillers of the soil. It would be in total violation of established tradition for Negroes, Indians and whites to associate on a compatible basis and I, in all sincerity, cannot foresee this barrier being removed wholly or partially within the present life tenure of our people."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Economic, social, educational, and cultural backgrounds make for a tremendous difference."

W(1937) N(928)
"Our achievement tests show about two years difference in achievement. The Negroes are that much lower than whites."

W(3885) N(74)
"Results of standard tests indicate average Negro child is below the average white child in scholastic attainments."

W(9783) N(2305)
"A study of results of achievement tests and mental ability tests indicates a wide difference in ability and achievement between the white and Negro children."

W(8900) N(272)
"At present, yes."

W(6211) N(1837)
"Supt. ..... of ..... got out an interesting study on this in the ..... schools."

W(5928) N(777)
"The Negro, from the fourth grade through the twelfth, will average two years below the white child in the age-grade."

W(4224) N(66)
"I frankly believe that the white children have far greater abilities to progress than Negroes; therefore, this would surely impair progress."

W(3494) N(4163)
"Here is where we would really be criticized for discrimination, for I think that the average Negro eighth grade student would be from one to two years behind the white eighth grade student because of three reasons—(1) native intelligence, (2) poorer teachers, and (3) poorer school attendance on the part of the Negro. I think that we would necessarily have to call upon some impartial organization, such as NEA to test all the children for grade placement."

W(1755) N(1030)
"Standard Tests (mental achievement, readiness, etc.) and supervision clearly show this to be true."

W(2460) N(2597)
"I do not know how to answer—there is not as much difference as the white people think there is."

W(1778) N(619)
"In our administrative unit Negro children are retarded on the average two years as measured by any Standard Test we have given."

W(6465) N(1449)
"The 1950-51 Survey conducted by the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction in ..... County found a wide difference in educational achievement between white and Negro school children in ..... County."

W(16,038) N(2,354)
"Our tests prove so."

W(2795) N(1111)
"My 'yes' answer does not refer to intellectual capacity when opportunities have been comparable for an extended period of time. However, a sudden or immediate integration would, I think, necessarily lower standards."

W(9983) N(4822)
"This is a major problem far beyond the conception of even

the most extreme Southerner.

(a) The North has attracted the higher bracket in intelligence of Negro citizens.

(b) Negroes who become specialists, college professors, or pass Civil Service, go to centers of Negro and Government jobs. This has left the deep South with the average and below masses. These are, however, the most loyal and dependable American citizens of the race. (Anyone who would think of Washington, D. C. as the place to 'model' the racial integration program is too naive to be taken seriously in the solution of the Negro problem. For many decades all southern communities have been sending their top half (mentally) of the Negro race to Washington for Government jobs. Also, Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, et cetera, would have a much larger percentage of high I. Q. Negroes than you would find in the typical southern town."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)

"Five years ago a battery of tests was given to our Negro Supervisor to administer to the fourth and fifth grades. They are still on a shelf in her office. Why didn't she give them? She didn't want a comparison made with tests given to same grades in the white schools. It is my studied opinion, based on observation and checking school papers at random, that the Negro children in ..... County will rate at least 3 grades below the white children on the average. For additional confirmation see statistics from the ..... Schools that can be furnished by Superintendent ....., and the never-released report of the Educational Commission that made studies in several selected counties and cities."

W(3228) N(2515)

"Standard achievement test results in our local elementary schools show white pupils approximately a year above the national norm, while our Negro pupils are approximately two years below the norm. An average variance of three years in a given grade would work an extreme hardship on teachers and pupils alike."

W(4165) N(3107)
"On a grade level of achievement it would mean that approximately 75% of the Negro pupils would be demoted one grade level."

W(6487) N(2276)
"Our Negro Supervisor has expressed the opinion that she feels it would be unfair competition for the Negro children to be in the same classrooms with whites. She based this statement on the fact that the Negroes have only had a relatively short educational history and that their background and opportunities have been more limited. She feels that there are some Negro children who could 'hold their own', but that the group as a whole could not."

W(696) N(157)
"Partially in upper grades."

W(1130) N(811)
"Negro principals in this unit agree that the average Negro school child is from two to five years behind the average white child in the same grade."

W(1139) N(750)
"Negro pupils are an average of two grades below white pupils. This was proved by an achievement test we gave all 6th grade pupils several years ago."

W(2577) N(148)
"In the upper grades, 7 to 12, there is about 2 years difference in achievement of the two races in each grade level."

W(1835) N(None) I(393)
"Enough difference to pose a problem."

W(638) N(721)
"About 1 grade level difference now, but rapidly approaching equal."

W(3388) N(329)
"We have in the past given tests recommended by the State Department on a county-wide basis and have discovered that there is at least a year and one-half to two years difference in the attainment in the same age and grade groups (I admit it has been three years since this comparative study was made). Our people believe that we will in our schools, pull the white child down to the Negro child, rather than bring the colored child to the white child's level. More than likely what would happen is that the Negro child and the white child would probably meet on the level somewhere between the top and the bottom—the white child down a little and the colored child up a little."

W(3250) N(1288)
"I have noticed that black birds do not associate with red birds. They live in the same big world and have the same opportunities. They just like to roost in different trees. The Maker perhaps arranged this. I have observed that the mental capacities of children of the white race are superior."

W(1000) N(675)
"Placement tests will have to be given the children in order to do the right thing for all children. This will mean that a large percentage of Negro children will be placed together even in white schools."

W(2272) N(2638)
"I think that the span of difference is great enough to seriously impair the instructional program."

W(1571) N(2236)
"Observation of work and tests made in white and Negro schools indicates that to classify them for successful teaching would develop such a great social problem that instruction would be greatly hampered."

W(675) N(764)
"Standard tests administered show that there are wide varia-

tions between the groups. While there are variations within the races the 'spread' is magnified."

W(1270) N(1090)
"We gave standard tests last year (1953-54): White I. Q. average, 100. Negro I. Q. average, 80. The whole program of academic work would have to be adjusted downward."

W(1787) N(1585)
"The white pupils usually average about two grades above the Negro pupils according to standard tests when the upper grammar grades are reached."

W(1831) N(235)
"The teachers in the Negro schools and the children of same are both considerably lower in attainment."

W(8661) N(3624)
"Various tests (achievement) administered over the years show a marked difference in attainment between white and Negro children in the same grades."

W(2694) N(1492)
"The average I. Q. score in 1953-54 for the county as a whole was: White, 91.6; Negro, 82.0."

W(4781) N(715)
"Recent achievement tests show that Negro children are below white children here in attainment for each individual grade."

W(1821) N(428)
"But the gap is decreasing."

W(993) N(1062)
"Possibly 20% or 25% of the Negro children would fit into the pattern all right, but for the masses of Negro children they would be misfits. I am sure that an inferiority complex would develop if they were forced to mix with white chil-

dren in their classes. This would result in a serious handicap for the Negro children."

W(3693) N(197)
"Standard tests reveal a difference of a whole year."

W(2571) N(1559)
"Annual testing program conducted for the past several years shows a variation in achievement becoming more pronounced with each successive grade. Average achievement of Negro pupils in the eighth grade is two years, four months below average achievement of white pupils in eighth grade (1953-54)."

W(6631) N(313)
"The colored would be in grades about one year behind the white ones. Mainly because of home conditions, lack of books and newspapers and general conditions."

W(1626) N(533)
"I believe this to be true in this school unit at present. With proper equipment and facilities children of equal mental abilities can obtain equal attainment. As a whole the percentages of mental abilities in the Negro children indicate lower abilities at present in the Negro school than in the white."

W(9335) N(1587)
"Tests show Negro children considerably behind white children in the same grades."

W(3137) N(2210)
"Standard of living of the whites higher than that of the Negroes."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"According to test and other information available there is a noticeable gap between the average attainment of white

pupils and Negro pupils. Therefore, the problem of child placement would become more acute."

W(2409) N(562)
"Very definitely a difference."

W(2342) N(2685)
"The evidence available, which includes the statistical evidence of achievement and other tests, reveals such wide range in achievement of white and Negro pupils as to require extensive class and grade re-organization for instructional purposes, should the races be mixed."

Total enrollment: (3400)
"Negroes low in achievement. Tested this month."

W(2629) N(953)
"Even though we have a number of children in the Negro school who rank favorably with children in white schools because of background and home environment, this would not be true of the average."

W(3330) N(2681)
"In our opinion the average white pupil is a better pupil than the Negro student, by at least a year."

W(8331) N(4023)
"However this might be more easily overcome than other problems."

W(4083) N(2344)
"This is where the real damage would be done to public education in North Carolina."

S

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their an-

swer "Yes" to question number 17 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

> "Would, in your opinion, white children or their parents elect to attend any school heretofore conducted for Negro children?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(6211) N(1837)
"Very, very few. Some folk here from other sections of the U. S. might let their children do so just to 'make a point'."

T

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 17 of the questionnaire which reads as follows:

> "Would, in your opinion, white children or their parents elect to attend any school heretofore conducted for Negro children?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(2795) N(1111)
"I believe this would be too much of an adjustment to be made immediately."

W(9983) N(4822)
"(a) A few of our preachers, 'do-gooders,' communists, politicians and college professors have indicated that they would do so.
(b) From 90% to 95% of our people would go to any extreme to resist any attempt to do so. .... has a situation that

would require just such a student placement if the court edict is carried out."

W(3228) N(2515)
"It is very unlikely that such a choice would be made."

W(696) N(157)
"There is no likelihood whatsoever that they would either elect or be compelled to attend the present Negro school."

W(1130) N(811)
"Definitely no, in the same manner that they do not want Negro children attending schools previously used by white children."

W(2301) N(1702)
"In this area there might be 10 percent of the parents who would allow their children to attend mixed schools."

W(1051) N(441)
"Nor do we think Negro children would elect to attend the white schools."

W(2256) N(1506)
"White children will not attend Negro schools, law or no law."

W(4427) N(26)
"Question 17 implies an option. If such an option exists in the future, there is no question as to what the people will elect—to retain the *status quo*."

W(2262) N(1835)
"School Board members tell me (we have 9) that we cannot possibly assign white children to our present all-Negro schools."

W(6724) N(1827)
"This matter would be bitterly contested."

W(7118) N(5259)
"If this school were still staffed by Negro principal and teachers and the majority of its students Negroes, I do not believe a white parent will send his child there. I believe he will suffer any penalty of the law rather than do it."

W(1132) N(118)
"In my opinion, not a single white student would attend a school which had been used as a Negro school."

W(1878) N(0)
"This would never work here."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"No one has expressed himself in such a vein."

W(1795) N(194)
"These buildings have generally been located in or near the colored or Negro center of population—and in small communities (some at least) these are outlying areas."

W(3256) N(1455)
"They would not go to the colored building."

W(13,032) N(3557)
"Any parent in this area who would do such would be looked upon as a fanatic, and I am quite sure that he would be."

W(3295) N(1900)
"It will be most difficult for the Board of Education to succeed in getting white children to attend schools heretofore known as Negro schools. If there must be integration, it will be much less difficult to have children of both races attend schools heretofore for white children."

W(2812) N(1868)
"Cannot envision such election."

W(5120) N(1683)
"Definitely NO!"

W(4548) N(916)
"For any white child or parent in our unit to accept this is very doubtful."

W(1006) N(1100) I(1127)
"The consensus of opinion is that the white parents would allow their children to grow up without the benefit of the normal school instructional benefits or send them to private schools if such does come into existence. And many have stated that they would teach their children themselves before they would send them to a Negro school or allow them to attend a white school that has admitted Negroes. The feeling of 95% of our parents would be, whether right or wrong, that it would be an unforgivable disgrace and, thus, will not accept it."

W(1755) N(1030)
"Parents have begun to change their residences."

W(9127) N(257)
"No! Is the answer."

W(2460) N(2597)
"You might have a small minority that could do this but public sentiment would frown on this step by any family in the community."

W(4224) N(66)
"I am certain beyond any doubt of this."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Other observations support the above answer."

W(1937) N(928)
"They are just not going to do it."

W(999) N(1062)
"Customs and habits are not that easily changed."

W(1550) N(107)
"The location of the school in a small all Negro community would negate this problem."

W(8661) N(3624) I(91)
"Most Negro schools have been surrounded by a Negro community."

W(1571) N(2236)
"It would be difficult to keep them in the buildings they are now in if Negro children were allowed to enter."

W(675) N(764)
"Parents object to moving anything from a Negro school to a white school and certainly would react even more to their children attending the Negro school."

W(2272) N(2638)
"It could only be done by extreme force."

W(3250) N(1288)
"The white people refuse to use school books which have been used by the Negroes. They refuse to ride busses which have been used by the Negroes. They cannot stand the scent. Pharoah's army could not make them enter a school building which has been used by the Negroes."

W(3388) N(329)
"Our one Negro school building is average so far as comfort, equipment and all those working tools that go to make up a good school. Practically all of the children that would use the Negro school plant would have to be transported, since it lies a mile and one-fourth outside of the ..... school district, the town of ..... and the ..... white school plant. This building could probably be integrated into the ..... school facilities as a grammar grade unit, since we have enough children in the .... school to fill all classrooms in the Negro school by simply moving four sixth grades, four seventh grades and four eighth grades to this building. As

for white parents selecting a school in which there were Negro children, that is entirely out of the question."

W(6468) N(4337)
"They would not attend such schools even if it meant no schools at all for their children."

W(13,996) N(1604)
"Not for the first few years."

W(7175) N(6916)
"Not at this time, though some of our buildings for Negro children are better than for whites in some districts."

W(11,458) N(4441)
"Not now."

W(6631) N(313)
"No matter how adequate and if equal in all respects to the white ones, it would be next to impossible to get them to go."

W(1926) N(533)
"They would go only after a complete renovation of the plant."

W(5347) N(2210)
"I think this is a recognized fact."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"Many schools heretofore used for Negro children will not be used for white people in our area."

W(2409) N(562)
"By no means."

W(3330) N(2681)
"They just wouldn't go!"

W(8331) N(4023)
"There would be some for sake of novelty."

U

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "No" to question number 18 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "In the event that the Supreme Court should decree that there should be a gradual adjustment brought about from the existing segregated system of public schools to a system not based on color distinction, and provided that sufficient length of time were allowed for such gradual adjustment, would the schools of your unit be better able to cope with the problems presented by such a decision?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire.

W(1550) N(107)
"Our action should follow the State pattern. If the action is inevitable I do not believe that prolonging it will help. We are in the process of building and the present uncertainty is complicating our problem."

W(4194) N(3378)
"It is my opinion that it would be better to operate just as we are now with separate schools for white and Negro students. That is the opinion of the principals of our three consolidated Negro schools."

W(5417) N(766)
"I shudder when I think of what may and probably will happen when the Supreme Court hands down its decree implementing its previous decision with reference to segregation in public schools."

W(257I) N(1559)
"We do not think that integration would be for the best interest of either white pupils or Negro. Gradual integration

merely introduces the element of time and we do not believe that time will correct a basic mistake. The people may finally accept integration on a gradual basis, but it is our opinion that the distaste for and resentment of such action will not disappear."

(Total 3400)
"Perhaps 15 to 20 years from now."

W(2342) N(2685)
"The proportion of Negroes to whites is such that even gradual adjustment would be fraught with serious resistance and resultant interruption of the school program. I have no reason to believe that gradualism would be any more acceptable than immediate integration."

W(8112) N(2177)
"The answer can only be 'perhaps'."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Of course gradual adjustment would be better than a sudden attempt, but any movement toward adjustment will produce tremendous difficulties in our county."

W(3919) N(2223)
"See no way of implementing the decision."

W(3669)
"Gradual adjustment could hardly apply in our case. What would be considered the first step in gradual adjustment elsewhere, would be total in our case."

W(420) N(333)
"We would have serious problems even if a gradual adjustment should be decreed."

W(1795) N(194)
"It is quite obvious, it seems, that this question is the one with the 'Stinger.' I do not think it has a place in this list—

as only one answer is possible and if that is given—and used in your summary—you can quite truthfully say: 'According to our summary, it is agreed that the gradual adjustment is acceptable'—which I think, is misleading and untrue."

W(1006) N(1127) I(1100)
"It depends on the interpretation of the word gradual. If it means that other communities enter into the situation successfully and many years elapse, it might work; however, I honestly, and with all sincerity, doubt if it will ever be workable. I believe it reasonable to state that it will never be workable until there has been a total change in local attitude, and we all know how slowly deep-seated prejudices (whether right or wrong) are modified. Our total picture is that we are facing one of the most destructive decisions ever thrust upon the American people, even greater than were the problems of emancipation."

V

The quotations below are comments made by county and city superintendents of schools in explanation of their answer "Yes" to question number 18 of the questionnaire, which reads as follows:

> "In the event that the Supreme Court should decree that there should be a *gradual* adjustment brought about from the existing segregated system of public schools to a system not based on color distinction, and provided that sufficient length of time were allowed for such gradual adjustment, would the schools of your unit be better able to cope with the problems presented by such a decision?"

The W, N, or I followed by numerals indicate the white, Negro, or Indian school enrollment of the county and city schools of the superintendent answering the questionnaire

W(9619) N(7122)
"A *gradual* adjustment would certainly help school systems to make the transition from segregated to non-segregated

schools. It is going to be a difficult job at best. If on top of all the other problems of adjustment which will have to be met, Negro children were thrown in great numbers into the white schools, there would be chaos, as the Negro boys and girls, with very few exceptions, simply cannot do the same quality of work. This would mean that many of these children would fail to pass their work, not because of their color, but for lack of intellectual ability, or background of experience, or both, to do the required classroom work. The Negro parents would then be inclined to accuse the schools of discriminating against them which would not be true in these instances. (The distinguished gentlemen of our Supreme Court, because their experience has had to do with legal matters and not in the area of public education, were naturally not keenly aware of this difference in the general ability and achievement of the two groups.)"

W(3281) N(811)
"This is the only way it will work here."

W(2373) N(4419)
"The 'gradual' would help to adjust the difference in attainments."

W(3534) N(646)
"Provided a separate school to accommodate any colored and white children who might be led to integrate were provided on a trial basis."

W(1523) N(1455)
"We believe only a few Negroes would attempt to enter the schools normally serving the white race. If all schools were open to either white or Negro children, we believe there would be little change in this unit."

W(5074) N(1287)
"Only way out—minimum of 15 years."

W(1764) N(859)
"In my opinion, the Negroes in our school administrative

unit are satisfied with their separate school."

W(1490) N(1784)
"I think it would be many years before any appreciable number of Negro students would actually seek admittance to white schools here."

W(2301) N(1702)
"As I said above, 25 years is the minimum time it would take to carry out the integrated program."

W(2262) N(1835)
"This method is the only possible way that I can see for our schools here. Any other plan of integration will, in my opinion, wreck the public schools in our administrative unit."

W(6724) N(1827)
"There is a tendency toward integration. For example, the ministers of our city only this month combined the work of white and Negro ministers in the association of ministers. Because of the good schools which now exist for Negroes, the educational level of the Negro is rapidly going up. It will be much easier to mix white and colored children 10 or 20 years from now than it will be at the present time."

W(5120) N(1683)
"It all depends upon what is meant by 'sufficient length of time.' In my opinion, 100 years would be too short."

W(2117) N(1172)
"Providing the time allowed is sufficient. A year or two would make little difference. On the other hand, if equal facilities are provided over a ten to twenty year period the progress made by Negro schools will appreciably improve the situation. Many people oppose integration just as bitterly on the basis of the low standards that would come about as they do on the basis of racial differences."

W(1878)
"I would not be afraid of a *gradual* adjustment at the high school level."

W(2603) N(7753)
"It is my opinion that it would be most difficult to ever make the adjustment to non-segregated schools. I do believe a sufficient length of time would help to alleviate some of the problems."

W(17,926) N(7984)
"We are making progress. Our principals and supervisors meet together. Small groups of both races meet together in professional meetings and in workshops. Even pupils from both races are cooperating in some areas."

W(3256) N(1455)
"What is a gradual adjustment???? (Number of years??)"

W(13,032) N(3557)
"We are not ready for gradual adjustment to begin at once. Most of our white people are of this opinion. I have talked to many Negro leaders of this county, including teachers and principals. Some of them think that they would be ready to begin integration in about 20 years if they continue to make progress. Before the Negroes of this county will demand integration there will have to be a great deal of agitation from the outside. Apparently that is coming at a rapid rate, from far and near. The agitators that are near are few, but get support from a few, some of whom represent large groups and seem to speak for them, without authority."

W(2398) N(875)
"This is my hope! The first ten years will be the hardest!"

W(3295) N(1900)
"If the leaders of both races can agree on a gradual adjustment, and if our people are not disturbed by outside agitators, the problem will be facilitated."

W(5784) N(5991)
"Funds are not in sight now to build all the facilities needed for our present enrollment. If funds were made available by 1960, we will need five years to build the space needed. No kind of integration can be considered before 1965."

W(6253) N(50)
"Time will help."

W(6940) N(1862)
"I think so."

W(7118) N(5259)
"Obviously we would be better able under these circumstances, but I do not know how well we could cope with the pupils that would be aroused by even a gradual attempt at integration."

W(4548) N(916)
"'Time' will not make integration more acceptable or desirable, but may help in adjustment."

W(2297) N(397)
"The length of time could not be too short. The situation would still be difficult."

W(2460) N(2597)
"If you mean by gradual adjustment another generation something might be done."

W(3494) N(4163)
"I think that if it has got to come that the shock would be less severe if it came gradually. It is my opinion that it would be best to start at the 12th grade. Here you would have a more select group of Negroes. There would be less opportunity because of the short time that children would be together for them to mingle and form friendships that might disturb the parents. At this age, too, you would find the children of

both races when they are most tolerant. My nose tells me that the odor is less nauseating as the Negro children advance in the grades."

W(2774) N(3036)
"Of course, gradual adjustment would be better than a sudden attempt, but any movement toward adjustment will produce tremendous difficulties in our county."

W(1937) N(928)
"If integration should start with the first grade only and the children grew up together, there would be less trouble than otherwise."

W(3885) N(74)
"The general opinion in this community seems to be that gradual adjustment is the only sensible solution."

W(1826) N(1190)
"It will not work otherwise."

W(1987) N(1303)
"If enough time is permitted. We need 25 years."

W(6211) N(1837)
"Naturally, I assume that our schools would fall into line with the general 'State pattern' which might be established. 95 per cent of our people feel that the Supreme Court made a Great Mistake in their May 17 decision."

W(1755) N(1030)
"A doubtful situation."

W(552) N(371)
"Where to begin, is the '64 dollar question.' Our white people in this county will not tolerate at any grade level, manner, or time, integration of white and Negro children."
"Until white and Negro adults can live together, as the white and Negro children would have to under the integration

plan, I see no hope of public schools integrating peacefully."

W(2651) N(344)
"Even with gradual adjustment we have every reason to believe that we will be confronted with serious problems—and as to these problems, I see no reasonable solution at the present time."

W(2905) N(798)
"The gradual transition should be completed 1959-60, beginning with primary grades extending through elementary next two years. First year high school by 1958-59. Complete integration by 1959-60."

W(2577) N(148)
"If left to their own choice, neither race in ..... will want to go to school with the other race for years to come."

W(1139) N(756)
"I honestly think that it will be a long time before the white people of this community will agree to any integration."

W(6487) N(2276)
"This opinion is based on observation of some Negro and white children playing together before their prejudice has had a chance to develop."

W(1408) N(2212) I(230)
"But they would have to have an awfully long time."

W(3901) N(777)
"Gradual adjustment would require a very long time. Forced adjustment will not succeed."

W(2242) N(5125)
"This decision would cause or establish another segregated group. The white financially able to send or establish white or private schools would do so, causing the lower group economically to be forced to integration. This would establish

three groups which would cause our section of the country to be divided three ways socially and economically. This would cause people with wealth not to be interested in public education and make it difficult to secure funds to operate our schools. Therefore, I believe that the states and counties should operate, support and control their school system."

W(2795) N(1111)
"Prejudices are acquired, I think; not inherited. A change as radical as has been proposed should by all means be a gradual one if made at all. I believe a gradual pupil integration might be made within a reasonable length of time. I am not so certain about teacher integration even then."

W(9983) N(4822)
"As soon as the citizens see that the communist propaganda as to the equality of the races is false, the reaction will be violent. Too many college pink and red professors, imported socialist writers, and 'do-gooders' religious dreamers have brain-washed our citizens to the point that at first a minority would accept the program. When the true situation becomes apparent, there will be a violent reaction. The testing programs for several decades proves the propaganda false."

W(3228) N(2515)
"It would probably require several decades."

W(693) N(157)
"Any approach other than a gradual approach would be fool-hardy and would show that the honorable gentlemen on the Court did not realize the depth of feeling on this matter."

W(1130) N(811)
"Such a period of gradual adjustment should cover not less than 25 years if it is to be gradual enough. This may not be long enough."

W(4164) N(3107)
"If 'gradual' is interpreted to mean 10 to 25 years—Answer—Yes."

W(1787) N(1575)
"Integration will have a better chance to succeed if it is done gradually. It cannot be done peacefully if done in a hurry. It may not be possible to do it peacefully even if done in a gradual manner."

W(3250) N(1288)
"We are getting along fine with the schools as they are in this county. The Negroes do not want to attend the white schools. They seem to want more prestige. If we can get good facilities for all and are allowed to work out a long range plan, we could better get along and live in some degree of peace; otherwise, there will be no peace. We have this situation: Many Negroes now living in the North are sending their children back to the South for school. Three cases or more like this in one of our schools."

W(6468) N(4337)
"This should be at a 'snail's' pace if it has to come at all. Our people are not ready for it and many of them will have no part of it."

W(3388) N(329)
"This is the only way that it might be accomplished in ..... County. A little at a time. One grade this year and another grade next year. I would suggest that not less than 10 years be given to us in order to bring about compete integration."

W(2272) N(2638)
"This type of integration would cause lots of trouble but it would be better than an attempt of immediate integration."

W(675) N(764)
" 'Sufficient length of time' can be a long time. Just as death postponed is better than death now, so integration postponed

is better than integration now. At the moment it appears that integration will not be welcome in the foreseeable future."

W(1571) N(2236)
"Would probably be less people involved at one time but we will have troube in ..... County with any plan to desegregate schools. Much hatred and bitterness will be generated that never existed previously."

W(8661) N(3624) I(91)
"Any extreme change in a social order must be accomplished over a long period of time."

W(999) N(1062)
"Our schools will follow both by choice and by necessity a State pattern. We are part of a State School System and we have no desire to combat the State's policy. I am confident, after serving as school superintendent in ..... for thirty-one years, that even the State cannot wipe out segregation at one fell swoop without seriously impairing the public school system. If non-segregation every comes in North Carolina it will have to be by degress and it will require a long time."

W(3738) N(None)
"It is my opinion that should such be made the law of the land, people would gradually grow to accept it for most people feel that it is morally right to do so but have strong prejudices to overcome in seeing such put into actuality."

W(1835) N(None) I(393)
"We need a terribly long period and I don't believe our people will go along with the integrated schools for many, many years, willingly."

W(1000) N(675)
"Integration beginning with the first grade will greatly lessen the trouble we are all bound to have with this thing."

W(1270) N(1090)
"This cannot be peacefully and successfully done until the people change. At present the majority of both races are against mixing. I have no idea how long 'gradual' means. It must mean when the people change and are willing to accept integration."

W(2694) N(1492)
"The process would have to be very gradual for it to be accepted at all."

W(1831) N(235)
"We yield to the affirmative as to its comparative implication and not as to, in any measure, conceding to sanction."

W(2409) N(562)
"By all means."

W(2629) N(953)
"If enough time were given sufficient preparation could be made in schools of both races for the change. It is my opinion that with a sufficient amount of careful preparation and training on the part of teachers, children, parents, and the public, integration could be accomplished."

W(3330) N(2681)
"Time makes a difference in solving any problem. I suppose a grade at a time would be best."

W(766) N(891)
"This seems to be the only way out."

W(13,996) N(1604)
"Start in the first grades in a few schools (those from whom we could get an approval of the School Committee and P.T.A. leadership). It will take ten or twelve years to get it started in all the schools in our county."

W(14,452) N(2475)
"In my opinion, this is the only plan which offers hope of a tolerable solution of the problem."

W(7175) N(6916)
"Fifteen or twenty years ago talk of voting by Negroes was considered, 'political heresy' by whites in this area. It is now accepted by change in public opinion."

W(8669) N(644)
"Our people are becoming more tolerant and if given time will work it out."

W(6631) N(313)
"Even then it will take many years. No law can be enforced when public sentiment is opposed to it."

W(1926) N(533)
"To accomplish any change it is necessary to educate the public to the change. An abrupt change of this type can only cause friction until the whites and Negroes are educated for it."

W(3137) N(2210)
"To what degree, I do not know."

W(6314) N(3521) I(250)
"If the Supreme Court should decree that each county or each community be given the opportunity to choose their own school, I do not believe that any racial problems will arise in our unit. Our Negroes and whites are interested in equal but separate facilities. If this desire is met, I believe generally our system will continue to operate without problems."

W(8331) N(4023)
"Much time is needed for children and parents to prepare for integration (at least 10 years)."

EXHIBIT 8

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL AND QUESTIONNAIRE TO SHERIFFS AND CHIEFS OF POLICE, WITH TABULATION OF ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS 1 THROUGH 10, INCLUSIVE.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
RALEIGH

5 October 1954

To the Sheriffs and Chiefs of Police of North Carolina:

In the re-argument of the school segregation cases in the Supreme Court of the United States, which is scheduled to begin December 6, the Court has requested the answers to two questions which they have submitted, the first relating to the immediate mixing of the races in the public schools and the other to a gradual integration of these schools.

There is enclosed to you herewith two copies of the questionnaire which I am sending to the sheriffs throughout the State and chiefs of police in the larger cities. I will appreciate it if you will answer the questions contained in this questionnaire and return it to me by October 12 if possible. You may retain one copy for your file. Your candid answers to these questions will be of great assistance to me in presenting North Carolina's case to the Supreme Court.

No publication will be made of the answer given by the various sheriffs and chiefs of police to these questions. Only the results will be shown in tabulated form in our brief presented to the Supreme Court. I suggest that no publicity be given to this matter.

Yours very truly,
s/ Harry McMullan
HARRY McMULLAN
Attorney General

Enclosures

QUESTIONS FOR SHERIFFS AND CHIEFS OF POLICE

1. Name of county or city: .....
2. How long have you been engaged in police work? .....

In all of the following questions, assume all white and Negro children are to be assigned to schools nearest their homes without regard to race.

1. Do you think there would be likelihood of violence among racial groups of students which would seriously interfere with the operations of schools in your city or county?
   (Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—193 No—6 D.K.—1
   Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.
2. Do you think there would be likelihood of such violence involving parents and others who are not students?
   (Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—191 No—6 D.K.—3
   Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.
3. Do you think there would be danger of such violence on school busses or where children wait for busses?
   (Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—195 No—3 D.K.—2
   Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.
4. Do you consider your present police force sufficient to preserve the general peace and order in your jurisdiction if such intermixing of white and Negro children in the public schools were to occur?
   (Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—14 No—182 D.K.—3
   Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.
5. In your opinion, generally, would parents of white children permit them to attend a school in which a substantial number of the students are Negroes?
   (Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—4 No—189 D.K.—7
   Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.
6. In your opinion, would racial conflicts result if white children are disciplined by Negro teachers?
   (Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—197 No—2 D.K.—1

Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

7. In your opinion, generally, would parents of Negro children permit them to attend a school in which a substantial number of the students are white?
(Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—111 No—71 D.K.—17
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

8. In your opinion, would racial conflicts result if Negro children are disciplined by white teachers?
(Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—147 No—41 D.K.—7
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

9. In your opinion, would the mixing of the races in the public schools cause such conflicts as to increase the danger of malicious destruction to school property, such as the burning of school buildings or school busses?
(Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—173 No—17 D.K.—8
Make such explanation of your answer as you care to make.

10. If the mixing of the races in public schools were brought about by a gradual process, according to plans of integration considered feasible by local school authorities, in your opinion would the danger of violence in racial clashes be reduced or eliminated?
(Answer "Yes" or "No.") Yes—74 No—108 D.K.—17

11. As the result of your observation and conversations which you have had with citizens of your county or city, do you find the attitude of the majority to be:

	White	*Negro*
For Segregation	.....	.....
For Non-segregation	.....	.....
Indifferent	.....	.....

(Note: The answers to this question were in such form as to prevent tabulation. Every officer replying indicated that the majority of the people in his jurisdiction favor segregation.)

By: .....

October ..... 1954.